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Periodical Room
The

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NO. 4

OUR NEW PRESIDENT



WILLIAM J. NORTON

The Toronto Conference has taken its place in the history of social work, and those of us who had the privilege of being present at the Fifty-first Annual Meeting will be inspired for many weeks to come to a better and more devoted service.

Now comes Denver with its promise of another chance to sharpen the edges of our practice, dulled by a year's monotony of hacking routine, by coming into contact with those who have labored in the same fields and have, perchance, more successfully met the problems which have baffled us.

Those of us upon whom the responsibility for preparing for the Denver Conference has primarily been placed are already at work. Our hope is that the Fifty-second Annual Meeting may be of equal, or greater, value than the fifty-one historic meetings

which have preceded it. We are hoping to make it big in its inspirational sweep, simple and useful in its exposition of methods, clear cut in its delineation of the social problems of the day, and warm and vital in its fellowship.

Many of us have never been to the Rockies. Now comes our golden chance to combine a series of valuable educational meetings with a vacation in a region made to order for rest and healthful play. Let's set the dates aside now and begin to shape our plans for next year, so as to make certain that we shall not miss the opportunity of being one of the thousands of social workers who shall next June take part in the Western pilgrimage.

WILLIAM J. NORTON,
President, 1925.

THE CONFERENCE BULLETIN

THE CONFERENCE BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

President, Wm. J. Norton, Detroit Community Fund, Detroit.

Treasurer, C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati.

General Secretary and Editor of the Bulletin
William Hammond Parker, 25 E. Ninth St.,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

AUGUST, 1924

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TORONTO, 1924—DENVER, 1925

"The King Is Dead; Long Live the King." TORONTO, 1924, is now a matter of history and to the social workers of Toronto and to the citizens generally the 1924 Conference will long remain a happy and inspiring memory. It was a great pleasure and privilege to entertain the delegates and visitors; to greet again the many workers from all parts of the Continent whose loyal cooperation and knowledge have made the Conference possible, and to confer on the great issues for which we are all seeking solutions. No more appreciative army of benevolent invasion ever entered the city than that which captured the hearts of Toronto people during the period of the Conference. We hope for another invasion before many years have elapsed.

DENVER, 1925, is now the "Star of Hope" on our western horizon. "The Best is yet to be" and Toronto will observe with sympathetic interest all that our good friends in Denver do to prepare for our next meeting. We cannot wish them greater happiness than that they may have the same generous appreciation and cooperation we experienced in connection with the meetings of the 1924 Conference in Toronto.

Will the many friends who have been so generous in writing letters of appreciation to the Local Committee kindly accept this acknowledgment from the Toronto Committee. The many expressions of satisfaction received from our delegates has added greatly to our pleasure in entertaining the Conference.

M. C. MACLEAN.

THE FIFTY-FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK—AN APPRECIATION

Two particular features made the 1924 session of the National Conference of Social Work somewhat of an experiment: First, it followed immediately the fiftieth session, which, commemorating half a century of progress, was given quite an unusual importance; besides, it was to meet on Canadian soil, for the second time only in the history of these conferences.

The result has been what was to be expected from an organization which derives its strength from the democratic appeal it makes to every social worker, and from the leadership of such able, active, and devoted men and women as Miss Grace Abbott, the President; Major W. H. Parker, the General Secretary; Dr. Peter Bryce, the second Vice-President, in charge of the local arrangements, and their colleagues.

In the way of numbers and quality of members, as well as in the way of variety and choice of subjects, attendances at the meetings and interest in the discussions, the Toronto Conference is equal to any one of its forerunners.

It is impossible to single out the best among the 150 papers which have been read, but it is safe to say that many of them have left a permanent mark in the minds of the audience, that definite trends have been delineated, that many an obscure question has been illuminated, and that no social worker, however experienced he might be, has left Toronto without the satisfaction of having added to his knowledge.

That in itself would be a full reward for the organizers of the Toronto meeting; the National Conferences, however, represent much more than that: they create a common feeling, a public opinion among social workers; they raise the standards of their activities; they are a source of lasting inspiration for those who, during seven days, live in the exalted atmosphere which radiates from the presence of such commanding personalities as Jane Adams, to cite only one example.

An added interest was the comparison between Canadian and American standards, methods, and achievements, which proved equally honorable for both countries, and which will no doubt encourage an even greater participation from Canadian Social Workers in the future National Conferences.

It would be ingratitude not to mention the cordial hospitality which the social workers have received from citizens, families, and institutions in Toronto, and it is impossible not to say a word of admiration for the magnificent buildings of Toronto University, spreading their ivy-covered mediæval architecture on the beautifully kept lawn of the campus. The general sessions, held in the university quadrangle, had quite an Arcadian charm. No interior meeting could ever rival the fascination of an address, delivered under the beautiful maple trees, in the fading light of a quiet evening. Such remembrance is forever bound in our minds with the success of the Toronto Conference.

DR. RENÉ SAND,
Secretary General of the League
of Red Cross Societies.

A RETROSPECT AND A PROSPECT

A third of a century ago the old Conference of Charities and Correction went west of the Mississippi for its annual meeting in Denver. There were some misgivings as to whether or not the Conference should go to Denver back in 1892, for at that time Denver was the youngest of all the cities which had ever entertained the Conference and travel was not so easy or so quick as it is today and distances loomed larger in people's minds than they now do.

Denver said, "Come and see what you have done for the Queen City of the West," and urged as one of the impelling reasons for the Conference meeting in this young city the fact that Denver owed most of its charity organizations, kindergartens, orphanages, and hospitals to the influence of those members of the National Conference from Denver who had attended the annual meetings of the Conference and brought back from those meetings a wider vision of the possibilities of social service as applied to their own community.

General Brinkerhoff, president of the Conference in 1880, and a member of the Executive Committee in 1892, said in replying to the welcoming address of the Governor of Colorado, "This is the greatest audience that has ever met in the history of the National Conference of Charities and Correction," and we are hoping that the President of the Conference will be able in 1925 to repeat this statement made by one of his distinguished predecessors thirty-three years ago.

The Conference was nineteen years of age when it met in Denver for the first time and the modern ideas of organized professional social work were just beginning to demonstrate their value and their verity.

It is very interesting to take a retrospective view of the subjects which were discussed and considered at this long-ago meeting in 1892. For instance, the Indian policy was then a live question—its relations to crime and pauperism, the advantages of mingling Indians with Whites, the education and citizenship of the Indian. Then, too, they discussed the widening field for women in philanthropy, their cooperation with public officials and their election to state boards. The naiveté of a discussion of this subject in the light cast upon it by a third of a century of practical experience is to say the least refreshing! Of course, the Child, the Insane, the Feeble-minded, and the Immigrant were just as important to social work in 1892 as they will be in 1925. The Conference also devoted sessions to Reform Schools, Charity Organizations, Public Institutions, Interstate Migration, State Boards of Charities.

The president of the Conference in 1892 was himself a citizen of Denver and there are those now active in Conference affairs who still remember with pleasure the dignity with which he presided at the meetings of the Conference and the sincerity and courtesy of the welcome which he extended to the visiting delegates. At this meeting Dr. Hastings H. Hart, then a member of the Executive Committee, was elected president for 1893, and Alexander Johnson was elected vice-president. The list of speakers included Homer Folks, John M. Glenn, Rabbi Berkowitz, Mary E. Richmond, Graham Taylor, Zilpha D. Smith, Hastings H. Hart, and Alexander Johnson, all of whom are still members of

the Conference and leaders in social thought and social activities.

On its nineteenth birthday the Conference had five hundred delegates present at its annual meeting. Next year, at its Fifty-second Annual Meeting, it is hoped that there will be between four and five thousand delegates. To the existing ten great Divisions there will next

year be added a Division on Professional Standards and Education, the work and scope of which will be a significant addition to the problems specifically considered by the Conference in its formal programs.

The Annual Meeting at Toronto inaugurated a new half century of social helpfulness and larger human usefulness by the Conference. Denver offers to

the Conference for 1925 the promise of a profound interest in all phases of social work upon the part of the citizens of the State of Colorado and promises on behalf of the great West that the Conference will meet with a genuine hospitality and real gladness of welcome that will make the Fifty-second Annual Meeting one memorable in Conference history.

THE TORONTO MEETING

As Seen by the Division Chairmen

DIVISION I—CHILDREN

The interest of the Children's Division was centered this year in three types of problems—first, that of the various methods of child care; second, that of the relations of the various social agencies dealing with children to one another; and third, that of personality and behavior of the individual child. The special conditions under which such problems must be dealt with in rural communities occupied one session.

Methods of child care were dealt with under the heads of caring for children in their own homes, giving them out for adoption, placing them in boarding or free homes, and caring for them in institutions. The speakers tried to define the conditions under which such type of care seemed advisable, and to suggest the standards which should be fulfilled. Miss Theis presented the results of a most interesting study of adoptions. Miss Ueland emphasized the standards of care of children in institutions not primarily those of physical care, but those even more important standards of mental and social care. There seemed to be a general opinion that atypical children who are not exceedingly abnormal can be better provided for in homes than in institutions.

Mr. Whitman, in discussing the relation of children's agencies to case-working agencies, insisted that while a children's agency must be a case-working agency, it has a sufficiently distinct technique to demand a separate organization. Mr. Carstens felt the necessity for a complete separation between societies for the protection of children and those for the protection of animals. The older type of humane society has been superseded by modern methods. Father McEntegart showed how an institution for children could and should work in close cooperation with organizations for investigation and with other agencies for the care of children.

Problems of human behavior constituted the interest in the three joint sessions, one with the Inter-City Conference on Illegitimacy, one with the Division on Delinquency and the National Probation Association, and one with the Division on Mental Hygiene. All of these sessions, from various angles, dwelt upon the necessity for understanding the mental emotional life of the young people with whom one is dealing. Dr. Van Water's analysis of the way in which personality is moulded by the attitude of those with whom the child comes in contact, aroused great interest. The Division was fortunate in having as one of its speakers Dr. Otto Rank, one of the leading authorities in psycho-analysis.

The program gave one a gratifying impression that real progress is being made in understanding the problems of social organization on the one hand, and those of the individual personality on the other.

HELEN T. WOOLLEY,
Chairman.

DIVISION II—DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

The only distinctive thing about the program of the Second Division of the Conference was that it blended so completely with the spirit that moved the conference in general as almost to lose its distinctive character. Delinquency was dealt with as an inseparable part of the general movement for social betterment represented by the Conference and its treatment, therefore, dealt with the problem exclusively from the point of view of preventive and protective social work. This emphasis was forecast in the chairman's "keynote" address, which discussed not so much the failure of the administration of criminal justice to attain its own narrow end of the repression of crime, but rather the necessity of socializing the whole legal process through the adoption of a new technique aiming at the protection of the community by the employment of preventive and restorative measures.

Dr. S. Sheldon Glueck's paper on "Recent Tendencies in Criminology," the addresses of Miss Addams on "Crime As the Aftermath of the War"; of Professor Hagerty on "Racial and Migratory Causes of Crime"; of Dr. Miriam Van Waters on "The Delinquent Attitude"; of Miss Binford, Mrs. Van Winkle, and Mrs. Gilman on the progress of Protective Work; and last but not least, of Mr. Parsons and Dr. Ellen C. Potter on "The Place of the Institution in the Treatment of Adult Delinquency," all presented the new social attitude toward this phase of the social problem. Reference should also be made to Judge Emily F. Murphy's paper on "The Administration of Criminal Justice in Canada," with its convincing demonstrations of the genius of an "Anglo-Saxon" community for making the best of an antiquated legal inheritance.

GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY,
Chairman.

DIVISION III—HEALTH

The Health Section meetings were held at the Bloor Street Presbyterian Church, which was some distance from the general meeting places at the university.

The five section meetings were held almost exactly as scheduled on the program. The attendance varied from 85 to 150.

The first section meeting, presided over by Dr. Hastings of Toronto, the topic for which was "Periodic Physical Examinations," was very well attended and the speakers, Mr. Tobey of the National Health Council; and Dr. Michael Davis, of the Committee on Dispensary Development, giving the results of periodic physical examination, both on a nationwide scale and locally, showed very conclusively that the campaign for such examinations had been successful and advocated the extension and continuance of it. The discussion, participated in by Mr. Homer Folks, Dr. Wyatt, and Mr. Kleinschmidt, added weight to the evidence that such examinations were exceedingly valuable.

The second section meeting was presided over by Miss Jean Browne, who is the national director of the Junior Red Cross for Canada. The section was divided into two definite parts. The first topic, "Health Habits for School Children," was very ably presented by Dr. Littell, with illustrative material showing actual work done by pupils in the Yonkers schools. He covered his subject so well that there was not much to be said in discussion. The second paper, on the "Rehabilitation of the Ex-soldier," by Dr. Bigger, of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, Ottawa, was a very clear and concise story of the methods and means employed in Canada to see that every ex-soldier was restored to health and to his place in business or industry.

The third section meeting on "Maternity and Infancy" was very cleverly presided over by Dr. Helen MacMurchy, Chief of the Division of Child Welfare of the Dominion Department of Health. The Section was honored in having present at this meeting the President of the Conference, Miss Grace Abbott. Dr. Kraker, Director of the Hygiene Division of the U. S. Children's Bureau, outlined an adequate national program; Dr. Underwood, of the State Board of Health of Jackson, Mississippi, gave an ideal program for a state to follow; and Miss Hazel Corbin, General Director of the Maternity Center Association, of New York City, told of the actual work being done in the district where intensive work is being carried on by them. There was not time enough for all the persons who wished to participate in the discussion.

The fourth section meeting was an especially noteworthy one because of the speakers, the character of the papers, and because of the many prominent social hygiene workers who were present. Again the session was entirely too short for any adequate discussion of the papers. Dr. Gordon Bates, General Secretary of the Canadian Social Hygiene Council, pre-

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sided. The papers of Dr. Exner and Dr. Dixon were read by proxy, Dr. Valeria Parker reading the first, and Mr. Charles Miner, of the Missouri Social Hygiene Association, reading the second. The papers were interesting in that they did not discuss a subject, but were written as if to be read before special audiences. Dr. Exner's address was intended for a parent-teachers' association, Dr. Dixon's for a professional medical group, and Mr. Van Buskirk's address was intended for a civic organization. From this standpoint it was a pleasant and noteworthy variation from the usual papers read at a section meeting.

The fifth section on "Negro Health Work" was well attended, the majority of the audience being Negroes. It was unfortunate that more of the white race were not present to have heard what the Negro thinks of himself and his health plans for the future. A Negro, Mr. J. W. Montgomery, President of the Home Service Association, Toronto, presided very ably. The three addresses, by Dr. Jackson, of Howard University, Washington; Professor Roman, Meharry Medical School, Nashville; and Dr. Louis I. Dublin, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, were probably among the best of the papers presented in the entire section. The discussion which followed was very keen and, as before, the time was not sufficient to recognize all those who wished to take part.

Two general criticisms might be made, one that the meetings were held too far from other meeting places, and too many papers were crowded into the sessions, not leaving time enough for general discussion from the floor. Also, no provision could be made at the Bloor Street Presbyterian Church for stereopticon as there was no way of shutting out the light or of hanging a screen. That was unfortunate because two of the speakers wished to illustrate their talks with lantern slides.

JESSAMINE S. WHITNEY,
Secretary.

DIVISION IV—THE FAMILY

The emphasis of the program of Division IV, the Family, was upon method. At the Washington Conference the goals of social work as they relate to the Home had been stressed. The meeting at Toronto carried on this discussion by considering how these goals were to be attained.

The papers were practical. They dealt with specific processes. They analyzed the means by which results had been accomplished. Here is a client who enters an interview, or a series of interviews, with a certain attitude and a certain point of view which is preventing him from adjusting himself to life. At the end of the interview, or interviews, he finds himself with a different approach to his problems. What was responsible for this change? What was said? What was done? How was it said and done?

These questions and the whole subject of methods used in the development of personality furnished the burden of the discussions at the meetings of the Family Division. Accompanying this discussion was a renewed emphasis upon the unity of case work. The differences in the various forms of case work—children's, medical, family, probation, and so forth—were held to be differences in

approach rather than in the fundamental underlying technique. In view of the growing community of interest which representatives of public and private agencies are finding in social-case work, there was repeated expression of the feeling that at least at national conferences the distinction between these two types of agency should be regarded as obsolete and that the representatives of both should think themselves as social-case workers engaged in a common enterprise. One of the most interesting and successful features of the Division program was the Exhibit of Case Recording. This exhibit was prepared by a committee headed by Miss Joanna C. Colcord, Superintendent of the New York Charity Organization Society. The exhibit room was crowded every hour of the day, and the two meetings on the Mechanics and the Content of Case Recording were among the most spirited of the Conference. The exhibit of Case Recording was an appropriate accompaniment to the discussion of processes and method which characterized this year's program.

KARL DE SCHWEINITZ,
Chairman.

DIVISION V—INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The program of Division V was planned with two main purposes in view: (1) To give opportunity to industrial social workers to discuss technique; and (2) to stimulate thought on the fundamental changes which are actually taking place in industrial relations and their significance for social work. Two innovations were introduced in the method of planning the program. Round-table conferences on technique were organized. For the analysis of fundamental changes subcommittees were appointed last autumn to prepare material as well as to suggest speakers. Their subjects were Ethical Forces in Advancing Standards in Labor and Industry, Social Values of Workers' Education, and Sources of Power for Industrial Freedom.

The purpose of the last committee was to discover what we have learned about the sources of power for the attainment of standards in industry which are advocated by social workers. Division V had its origin twelve years ago in the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor, whose platform of industrial standards is well known. How can progress toward those standards be accelerated? What is the significance for social workers of new developments in trade unions, the growth of political action of organized workers, and the experience of cooperative movements? Is "the class struggle," i. e., the workers' own efforts to secure recognition of human values and human rights in industry, a reality? Should social workers participate in these efforts? The Division looks forward to a fuller discussion of these questions at the Denver Conference.

MARY VAN KLEECK,
Chairman.

DIVISION VI—NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Every speaker reported on time for his speech. No apologies or disappointments. Every presiding officer was on hand with specially picked leaders to open

the discussion. The papers and the discussion were full of eager, intelligent thought.

The three noteworthy facts of the five sessions were:

(1) A determination to bring together the so-called scientist and practical worker—the professor with his theories and the worker with his experience.

(2) The evidence of dissatisfaction growing out of a lack of a thorough, practical knowledge of our job as social workers. The failure to put together each phase of social work and relate it to the whole.

(3) The expressed need of pioneers in social work. The routine social worker is necessary as are his well-developed standards, but his type of mind is very different from that of the pioneer who stands as an outpost in civilization. There is need for both and they are not at variance with each other in service. If there were only routine social work there would be little, if any, social progress. Routine social work treats social ills with a well-developed technique. Pioneer social work seeks continuous improvement and readjustment with the hope of reducing, if not eliminating, the individual social ills.

Division VI had good sessions, well attended, with 100 per cent promises fulfilled.

GEORGE A. BELLAMY,
Chairman.

DIVISION VII—MENTAL HYGIENE

The program of a division should, and usually does, reflect the progress that has been made during the past year in the field it represents. Sometimes the high-water mark is reached in a paper that makes clearer an old issue because of new data that are available; sometimes this point is reached in a paper that forecasts bit the future, and gives for the time material for thought rather than for immediate action.

In the latter respect the high-water mark of the Mental Hygiene Division at Toronto was reached in the paper by Dr. Otto Rank, of Vienna, "The Significance of Psychoanalysis for the Social Life." Associated with this were the papers by Dr. Helen T. Woolley, "Social Consequences of the Neglect of the Mental Hygiene of Young Childhood," and those by Dr. Edward D. Lynde and Miss Frances Taussig on "The Place of Psychiatric Social Work in a General Case-Work Agency."

Papers that dealt with immediately practical issues were those by Miss Bertha Reynolds, Miss Harriet M. Johnson, and Dr. Ira S. Wile on "Mental Hygiene of Younger Children." Papers dealing with issues that have long been before the section, but which tended to make clearer these issues, were those by Dr. Thomas H. Haines and Dr. Francis N. Maxfield on the functions of a special class in the public schools, and those by Dr. Frederick W. Parsons and Miss Marie L. Donohoe on the state hospitals.

The meetings of the section were well attended, and the papers aroused considerable discussion of a profitable kind.

FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS,
Chairman.

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Impressions of the Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting by Ex-Presidents of the Conference

"Each year the Conference grows younger yet wiser and easier to look at. The best part of the Toronto program, as always, was the lively discussion developed in its section meetings. Little time was wasted in platitudes this year. It was a plain-spoken, thoughtful gathering, which cannot fail to stimulate the work and broaden the vision of all its delegates."

ROBERT W. KELSO,
Boston.

President in 1922.

"Meetings of Division IX have not for years been as good as they have been this year. The attendance has been remarkable and among the speakers have been many heavyweight people. The discussion has been excellent and has been participated in by many leading members of the Conference."

JEFFREY BRACKETT,
Boston.

President in 1904.

"The distinction of this Conference is in its General Sessions that deal with the very biggest questions that have come up in connection with our work and help to give a big unifying effect to the whole thing. Miss Abbott has done a very distinctive thing there, and I am particularly glad to see prohibition being brought up for discussion. For the past few years it has been poking its nose under the tent; this year it has crawled under and is well inside."

ROBERT A. WOODS,
Boston.

President in 1918.

I consider the high points of this Conference to have been the emphasis upon:

1. The public import of social work, stressed especially by representatives of private agencies.
2. Community responsibility for social progress.
3. The necessity of the education of citizens for social action.
4. Scientific research, tests, method, and spirit as fundamental to efficiency and success.
5. The correlation of kindred groups with the Conference as their center and clearing house.

GRAHAM TAYLOR,
Chicago.

President in 1914.

"Toronto's lack of opportunity for the usual social contacts through common places to meet and eat was balanced by a most beautiful Conference setting, ideal Conference weather, and a rich program. The second half century of the National Conference of Social Work has begun well."

FREDERICK ALMY,
Buffalo.

President in 1917.

The Fifty-first National Conference has passed into history. How significant the work of any Conference will be, only time can tell. In beginning this new half century, discussion of technique did not crowd off the Division programs considerations of causes and of movements that would profoundly change or modify our present social and industrial organization. The evening sessions frankly crossed Division boundaries and considered questions of importance in any social program. Those practical questions of kindred groups and of whether the whole scheme of the Conference organization should be changed were raised and left for future action.

Participation in an International Conference of Social Work to be held in Paris

exchange of experience and for acquaintanceship with the social work which is now developing in the nations to the South of us. At some future date the Conference may want to consider making a conscious effort to secure the mutual advantages which such association would give. In spite of the language barrier, it is perhaps not altogether impossible that as a result of our common interests Mexican social workers may be included in our membership and on our programs, and that perhaps sometime the Time and Place Committee will be considering an invitation to meet in Mexico City.

GRACE ABBOTT,
Washington, D. C.

President in 1924.



GRACE ABBOTT

in the summer of 1925 was enthusiastically voted and plans projected to provide for American and Canadian delegates to the Paris Conference an opportunity for a week or ten days' intensive study of social England.

While no attempt was made to make the Toronto Conference take on any of the aspects of an international meeting, the fact that it was held in Canada had special significance. At the Washington Conference eighty-six delegates came from all parts of the Dominion; more than six hundred were at Toronto. Together with them more than twenty-four hundred Americans went from the library to the halls, class rooms, and campus of Toronto University, discussing, agreeing, and disagreeing on questions of both principle and method; eager to learn, critical in their judgment, and yet tolerant of the opinions of others. All of those from the United States returned with increased respect for Canadian social work and increased affection for Canadian social workers.

We have not the same opportunity for

The Toronto Conference was an unusually fine meeting, characterized by more definite and sincere talks and by an absence of mere words. It is remarkable to have achieved this in so large a conference.

JANE ADDAMS,
Chicago.

President in 1910.

The Fifty-first National Conference of Social Work fully justified the action of the Fiftieth Conference in selecting Toronto as the 1924 meeting place. The large attendance, 690, from all the Canadian provinces, and the very obvious and deep interest on the part of all the Canadian delegates, left no doubt as to the lasting effect upon the development of Social Work in Canada of this great forum for the discussion of social problems, and for the promotion of acquaintance and understanding among social workers. Each year makes a very definite progress toward a clearer understanding of what social work means, and of those things which are most worth while in achieving lasting results. The outstanding features of the Conference seemed to me to be the discussions on social work in rural districts and those relating to child welfare.

HOMER FOLKS,
New York.

President in 1923.

The Fifty-first National Conference of Social Work was significant for its emphasis upon the interest of highly specialized techniques. Two factors contributed to this emphasis.

(1) The wide separation of meeting-places as well as hotels restricted attendance at section meetings largely to those immediately concerned in the section.

(2) The result of this inbreeding was all the more noticeable in contrast with the intermingling by design at the preceding fiftieth anniversary in Washington. The Fiftieth Conference threw into any single meeting groups from widely divergent fields but with common ultimate aims like strengthening the home or com-

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THE CONFERENCE BULLETIN

**OFFICERS OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
SOCIAL WORK**

1924-1925

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First Vice-President

HELEN T. WOOLLEY, Detroit.

Second Vice-President

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Third Vice-President

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Chairmen of Divisions: Edith Abbott, Chicago; LeRoy E. Bowman, New York City; John A. Brown, Indianapolis; Dr. Louis I. Dublin, New York City; Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia; Dr. George W. Kirchwey, New York City; E. C. Lindeman, High Bridge, New Jersey; Emma O. Lundberg, Washington, D. C.; Stockton Raymond, Boston.

Term expiring 1925—C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Rev. John A. Ryan, Washington, D. C.; Jessie Taft, Philadelphia; **Term expiring 1926**—M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati; Martha P. Falconer, New York; John L. Gillin, Madison; M. C. MacLean, Toronto; Amelia Sears, Chicago. **Term expiring 1927**—Edith Abbott, Chicago; James F. Jackson, Cleveland; Eugene Kinckle Jones, New York City; Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford, Illinois; Robert A. Woods, Boston.

(The following is the list of committees as appointed. Acceptances from all appointees have not as yet been received.)

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Florence Hutsinpillar, Denver.
Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta.
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Paul U. Kellogg, New York City.
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Committee on Program

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George A. Hastings, New York City.
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Committee on Time and Place

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IMPRESSIONS BY EX-PRESIDENTS

(Continued from page 5)

munity or moderating industrial or racial
friction. The result was the liveliest dis-
cussions based on varied experience.

Time and again at Toronto the com-
plaint came to my ears that section meet-
ings thrashed over old straw or merely
repeated material discussed at the kind-
red group meetings in the afternoons.
Again and again the question was raised
whether there were not ways to secure
more vital and radical discussion of
points of view which audiences at Toronto
seemed to take all too readily for granted.

This situation realized by many at
Toronto and made more in point by con-
trast with Washington, sets the task for
the new committee on reorganization of
divisions and relations of kindred groups.

To take an example from the writer's
own field, the organization of social forces.
Executive after executive of community
chests deplored that the discussions in
this section were participated in largely
by community chest representatives alone.
Could there not be a way, they ask, by
which the family social workers or the
local community specialists would come
to criticize thoroughly and constructively
the community chest movement? Does
this illustrate the way both of simplifying
the program of the National Confer-
ence and lessening the impression that
what is said is already only too well
known to those whose leadership in dis-
cussion is essential for lively and interest-
ing meetings? Important as the
papers were at Toronto, they failed of

securing their full effect because they were not subjected to adequate discussion. Both the limit of human endurance and the specialization of audiences produced this result. They leave a big and important task for the new committees on reorganization of conference program procedure. The Toronto Conference has rendered a great service in bringing this question to a focus.

ALLEN T. BURNS.
President in 1921.

THE TORONTO MEETING

(Continued from page 4)

DIVISION VIII—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Division VIII on "The Organization of Social Forces" is a functional division of the Conference. It began its career a few years ago with such devotion to financial federation that it is only now escaping from the fallacy. Financial federation is an incident in the organization of social forces. This year the division turned its attention to such vital topics in functional interplay as the use of the survey method as a means of informing the public and discovering new needs and better alignment of forces; interpretative publicity as a function of social service; the relationship between public and pri-

vate social agencies and the effect of the federation movement thereon. One meeting went to a consideration of the types of federation best suited to cities of various size, and a final session was devoted to methods of financing social work, in particular to the treatment of unrestricted capital funds. The evening session offered the historical development of the federation movement.

Because these problems of the realignment of the philanthropic agencies of yesterday to the purposes of the social work of today are difficult and insistent, they inspire corresponding eagerness among the delegates. The result in the sessions of Division VIII has been unusual interest in the floor discussion. The program speakers deserve high credit; but still greater praise should go to the able speaking done extemporaneously from the floor.

Next year, under the chairmanship of Sherman Kingsley, the gains of the Toronto session will be held and new advances made.

ROBERT W. KELSO,
Chairman.

DIVISION IX—PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Up to the time of the Toronto Conference, I had felt, in common with many

of the departmental and institutional heads who are engaged in the practical carrying out of the programs for the prevention of delinquency and the care of our defectives, that there was not a great deal in common between ourselves and the professional private social workers.

The program of the Division IX was constructed with the idea of emphasizing the importance of the practical working alliance between the social workers and the public officials. More and more is the public department taking over what heretofore was private social work. More and more is it necessary, therefore, that the splendid theories which have formed the basis of private social work, shall be carried into a realization by practical men and women.

It seemed to me that one of the outstanding accomplishments of the Fifty-first Annual Session of the National Conference of Social Work was a sincere and earnest effort by both private and public workers to overcome their mutual misunderstanding and to proceed with a better understanding of the handicaps under which both must labor toward the solution of their common problems.

SANFORD BATES,
Chairman.

SUGGESTIONS FOR OFFICERS 1925-1926

Clip and mail to Arch Mandel, 409 Lowe Bldg., Dayton, Ohio

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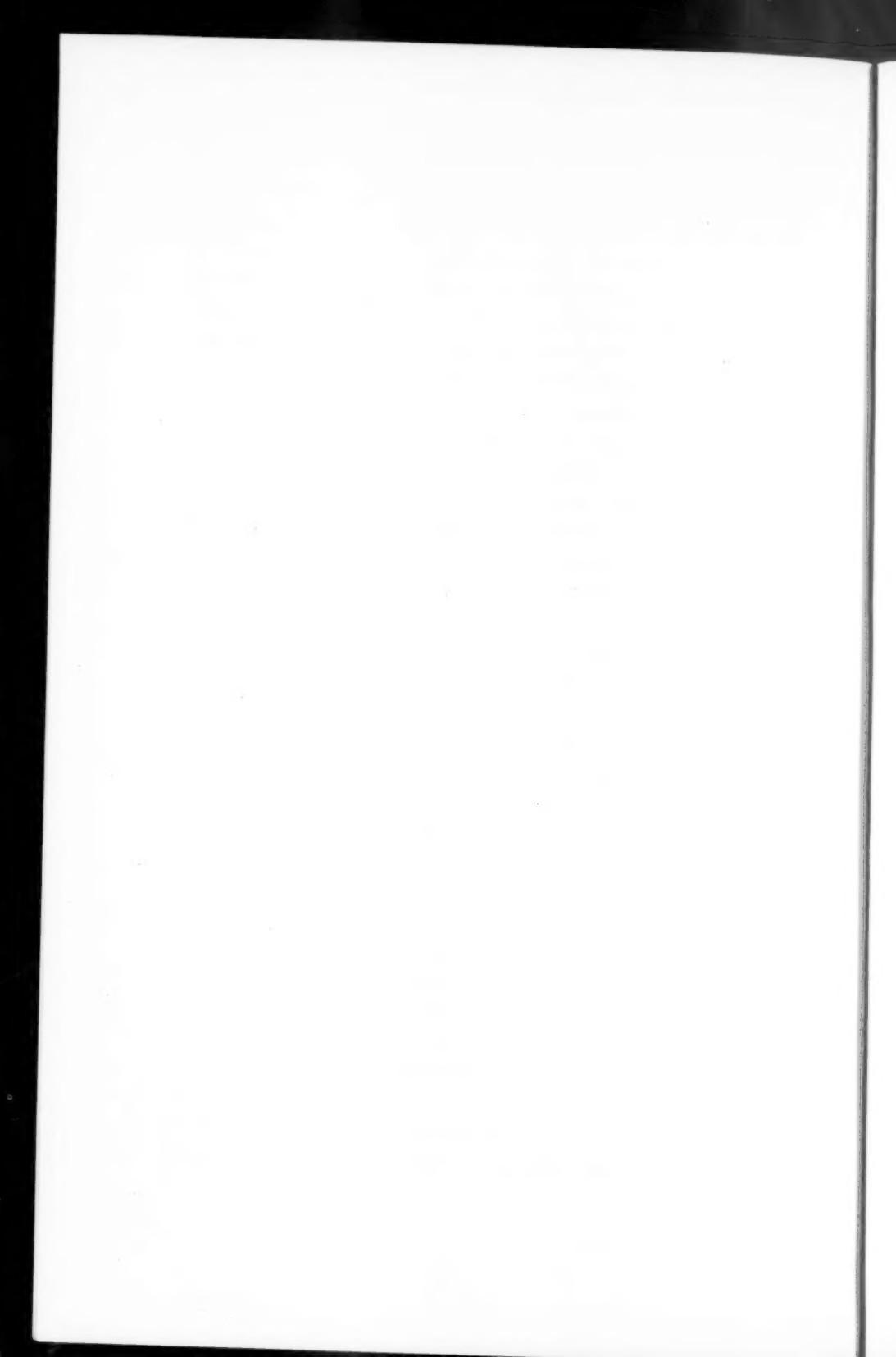
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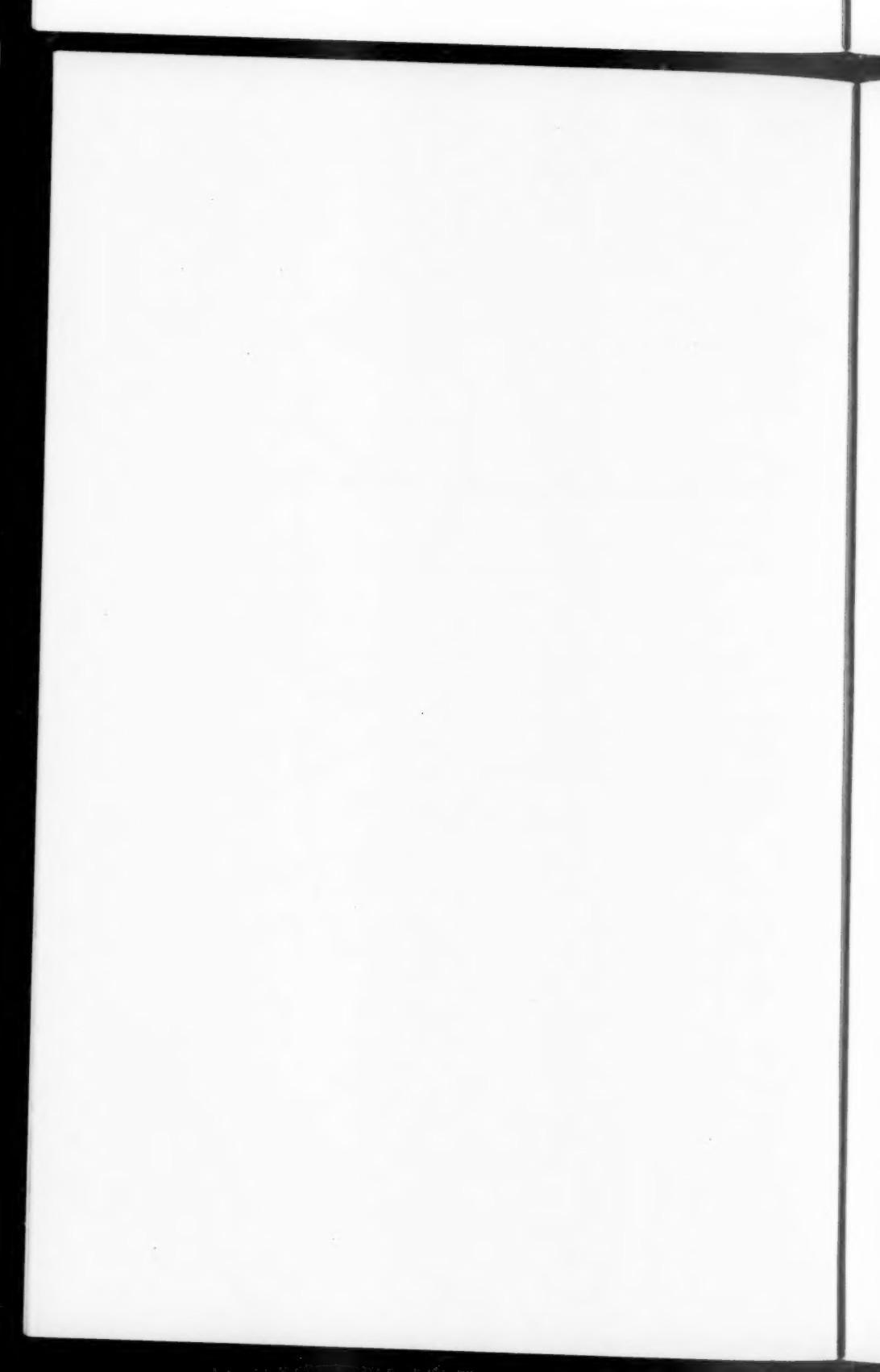
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DENVER—1925





Second Period. 1898-1924



13 • THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE SOCIAL SERVICES

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

PHILosophy 11, taught by Dr. Francis G. Peabody at Harvard University, was the inspiration that turned many young men into social work. Seven men who later became leaders in their chosen calling came out of Harvard, and its Philosophy 11, in the short period between 1885 and 1893. Four of them became presidents of the Conference: Dr. Richard C. Cabot; Homer Folks, who also had the honor of being the only person twice elected to that office; Sherman Kingsley; and Robert A. Woods. One, Charles Birtwell, of Boston, was a pioneer in child welfare work in New England; one, William H. Pear, of Boston, was a long-time leader in the Boston Provident Association; and one, Harvey Baker, became judge of the juvenile court in Boston during its formative years (1906-15).

The description of Philosophy 11 ran as follows, "The Ethics of Social Reform. The questions of Charity, Divorce, the Indians, Labor, Prisons, Temperance, etc., as problems of practical ethics—Lectures, essays, and practical observations," and the content differed but slightly from that of courses elsewhere given in departments of economics or sociology. Dr. Peabody said that when he first gave the course, the suitability of its material for inclusion in a university curriculum was seriously questioned by the leaders of the university; and it was only the great reputation he bore—as well as his father before him—in the department of philosophy at Harvard that made it possible to offer the course in the oldest educational institution

in America. None of the leading schools of the East, however, followed Harvard's example, nor have the others contributed anything to the project of education for social work. It may have been the great personal influence of Dr. Peabody, or it may have been the tradition of volunteer service in Boston that led this stream of brilliant men to catch the inspiration of this new field; but it is without parallel in this country.

In 1894, a year after Robert A. Woods graduated from Harvard, a professor from the University of Chicago reported at the Conference that data assembled at the Conference and by its member agencies were excellent source material for college courses in charity and corrections. He further reported that, as early as 1889, Yale and Williams Colleges were offering courses in sociology. From time to time reports were given of the universities giving courses in sociology, and prominent sociologists, such as Franklin H. Giddings, of Columbia University; Charles H. Cooley, of the University of Michigan; William H. Brewer, of Yale University; and Harry H. Powers, of Smith College, discussed the relationship of sociology to charitable work. Some, like Giddings, took a critical attitude, but most scholars pointed out that each subject was in a field of its own, although dealing largely with the same material (human beings in their relationships), and that each had its contribution to make to the other: sociology, to discover the general laws and principles governing human intercourse; charity, to furnish the data, to test the principles, and to attend to the practical, day-by-day work of amelioration and prevention.

This period might be called the honeymoon stage of the interrelationship between theory and practice; between the teaching of sociology and the practice of social work. It was often assumed that a thorough discipline in sociology was the proper educational preparation for social work, and ways by

which more universities could be encouraged to offer such courses were suggested. A more concrete consideration was that if the courses were taught by the right instructors, they would prepare students to take up social work as their vocation, and in that way open up a means of securing recruits for the rapidly expanding vocation from among the very best possible sources of supply.

Some of this identification of the science of sociology with the art of helping continues to the present, but it is being resisted by both groups—by the sociologists, because of the need to dissociate research and theory from extraneously determined values; and by the field, because of this very theoretical trend in sociology. It was a trend which caused Mary Richmond in her first paper (and a long line after her), to warn against too close affiliation with a university. It also became clear that the art of helping, in common with all professional arts, is dependent not on one science, but on many, including such diverse subjects as biology and economics. The recent rise in the importance of psychology and, especially, of psychiatry has tended to crowd sociology as a useful science into the background, as a result of the immediate availability of psychology and psychiatry to the needs of the social worker. The neglect of sociology has not been without some loss, a recession that showed itself especially in perspective.

One of the results of this early association between certain instructors at universities and practitioners in the field was the opening of an outlet for college graduates, and their immediate reception by agencies. Charles Birtwell, the first of the series of brilliant men who found their inspiration in Philosophy 11, was probably the first practitioner to encourage college men to enter the field, and many of those seven men had their initiation into social work in the Children's Aid Society of Boston, of which Birtwell was secretary. Dr. Vida Scudder, of

the department of economics at Wellesley College, who, according to Robert A. Woods, shared the Franciscan philosophy of the virtue of poverty, showed rare counseling skill in selecting girls from among the graduating groups and sending them each year to the agencies and settlement houses of the large Eastern cities. Many other professors, such as Charles R. Henderson at the University of Chicago, Cooley at Michigan, and Franklin L. McVey at the University of Minnesota, were doing the same thing, on a smaller scale. Doubtless there were many others whose names have been forgotten, but whose interest in the enlarging field of the social services (and in the West, especially, the public social services) was brought to the attention of their promising students. Before the professional schools were equipped to provide recruits to fill the vacancies calling for competent candidates, this association between colleges and agencies was the device used by progressive leaders in the field to secure their much-needed personnel.

Of less direct influence on the preparation of the practitioner, but of far-reaching impact on the practice of social work in the twentieth century, was the teaching of Simon N. Patten at the University of Pennsylvania. Working independently on the thesis, first suggested by Arnold Toynbee, that the economic problem of production had been solved by the introduction of machinery, he pointed out that the major economic question to be mastered was how to maintain the consuming power of the nation at the levels at which it was possible to purchase the goods made by the machines. He advanced what was considered quite an unorthodox theory, that the only sound economic program was to raise the purchasing power of the great body of workers so that they, the bulk of consumers, would be able to buy the goods the machinery was capable of turning out. Such a program would, of course, involve a pronounced rise in the standard of living for the ma-

jority of the population. The only prominent social worker of this century to come under the direct influence of Patten was Edward T. Devine, who was a teacher in the same department at the University of Pennsylvania before he accepted the secretaryship of the New York Charity Organization Society in 1896. The theory so nicely fitted the anxious hopes of many who spent their days struggling to help the disinherited to a better standard of living that it was eagerly welcomed even though they were quite ignorant of its source.

While it would be an exaggeration to credit Patten alone with the result, because there were other influences inherent in the development of social work itself in America (illustrated by Sanborn's philosophy), Patten's findings performed a still greater service to the entire field of the social services by saving it from identification with the conservative classes of society as private social work in Great Britain and France had already done. It preserved the unity of the front between the social services and social reform which was to prove of such great value in the years that followed the first decade of the twentieth century. This is not to say that there were no practitioners in the public and private welfare field who were not conservatives, or even that there were no reactionaries, nor that there was none in the area of social reform who did not look with contempt upon the efforts of the social worker. But there were never absent from the field of practice those who embraced the more general movements to increase the economic well-being of the wage earner as being quite as much within their function as service to those who had suffered from the effect of the widely unequal distribution of wealth with the assurance that such maldistribution is economically wise as well as ethically necessary. This acceptance of the dual task of social work reached such a point of general acceptance that John Fitch, of the New York School of Social Work, could say

(1919): "The interest of the social worker in social action is a test of his integrity."

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

The two outstanding papers of the Conference on Education for Social Work were Mary Richmond's proposal, made at the meeting in 1897, that preparation of the personnel for social work should be undertaken as an educational function, and Abraham Flexner's paper, given in 1915, examining the question of whether the practice of social work can be correctly classed as a profession. However, before either of these studies, Anna L. Dawes, of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, prepared the way for an education for the social services, in a paper given at the International Congress of Charities and Correction in 1893. Miss Dawes raised the question why the men and women who were then departing from the field of active social work should not have an opportunity to transmit to their successors what they had learned during their years of service, so as to enable the new workers to take up the work where the older ones left off, without going through a long, hard period of learning by doing. This she urged also for the sake of the applicant, to save him from the needless repetition of the mistakes through which the earlier practitioners had learned their art. Her paper was a sound definition of the content and method of education for a profession, and while at times emphases have been placed on other aspects, the development of education for the practice of social work since then has confirmed her contention that there is something to be learned in the practice of human relations, and that something can be passed on to those who wish to master it.

Miss Richmond's paper took up Miss Dawes's thesis and defined the conditions under which such a school could be established, the sort of personnel needed to staff it, its cost, and

something of its curriculum. The proposed project would be called a training school of applied philanthropy. Its activities were described more in the light of what it was to accomplish than how. She felt that there were no norms or standards of work arrived at by the practitioners in the diverse fields then being covered by agencies and institutions. If the common elements of what was then called "charity work" were to be established, it could only be accomplished by a school at liberty to undertake the task of defining the underlying processes common to social work. At that early date, she expressed her fear that exclusive attention to one's own task would be bound to defeat the real objectives of social work. Her school would have as a director "a university trained man . . . who has had wide practical experience in [charitable work]." Such a school would need a good deal of money, which she believed would not be too difficult to secure. It should be located in a large city and possibly affiliated with "some institution of learning." She was careful to point out that the curriculum should emphasize "practical work rather than academic" material. The school should be in close relation with the public and private charities of the city, where students could observe social work practice under the supervision of their instructors. Classroom instruction should parallel experience in the field. Mary Richmond felt that only by some such educational opportunity could college graduates, drawn into the field, feel a professional assurance of standards and vocational security. The suggested school would not provide merely an apprenticeship on a different level. But it did not specifically include the teaching of method by classroom instruction; method was to be taught in field experience which paralleled the classroom instruction. The latter was to concern itself with the general principles which governed all social work.

Miss Richmond's paper was apparently submitted to several

persons, and one of them, Frances Morse, of the Children's Aid Society of Boston, thought the plan too ambitious: salaries paid charity workers would not justify spending one or two years after college in a professional school. Miss Morse suggested as an alternative that the agencies of a city enter into a coöperative agreement whereby a student would pass from one agency to another on an apprenticeship basis, a certain amount to be paid as a scholarship. In this manner, the student would be saved from the worst hazards of the apprenticeship system.

Abraham Flexner's study, written eighteen years after Miss Richmond's paper and seventeen years after the first project in education for social work was started, and at a time when some fifteen or eighteen schools of social work were in existence, undertook to define the criteria of a profession. He set them down as: an intellectual operation with large individual responsibility; a basis of science and learning; progress toward practical ends; possession of an educationally communicable technique; a tendency to self-organization; and increasing altruism. As he observed the operations of a social worker Flexner could identify no method unique to the practice. It was rather a function of discovering the resources in the community and placing them at the disposal of the applicant. Therefore, he did not think that social work was a profession, since it did not have its own "technique communicable by an educational process," though it served as a mediator between the professions. In this essential criterion of a profession, Flexner was in agreement with Miss Dawes's major thesis: a professional must "know how" to perform the intellectual activities, and there must be a large degree of personal responsibility required in his area of work. It is perhaps not without significance that Flexner could not identify this activity, or "technique," as he called it; whereas Miss Dawes, who had spent a

long life in its application, was so conscious of it that she felt the need to pass on her accumulation of "know how" to her successors, to save them from the mistakes she had made. Again, it is difficult to see how Flexner, applying this criterion as essential, could have admitted that two of the oldest professions—law and the ministry—are professions at all. They have no unique techniques communicable by an educational process or otherwise. Law uses the method of research more extensively than any other vocation, but it is not exceptional; the ministry is quite innocent of any special method.

The effect of Flexner's paper was profound and far-reaching. The challenge was accepted at its face value, and has set social workers to defining and perfecting their methods with a singleness of purpose that has all but blinded them to the fact that method is only one test. Philosophy—what it is all about; why it is undertaken; what are its ultimate goals and its relationships to other activities—is as essential to a profession as method. Method, however, is essential; anyone attempting to practice in a profession without acquiring the best possible skill in method is a charlatan; he is a danger to the profession and to the people whom it serves. Nevertheless, the practitioner whose sole objective is facility in a method becomes a technician, and fails to realize to the full his professional responsibilities. The danger is that a professional worker will look upon the perfection of method as its only end, neglecting the philosophical considerations of why there should be a method at all and what is the ethical responsibility of a professional to his age. Some practitioners in social work would have shared that narrowing of its conception, sooner or later, as workers in all other professions have done. It is tragic that an impetus in that direction was given social work at the very inception of its professional consciousness.

The establishment of schools of social work followed closely

upon Miss Richmond's paper. The next summer, in 1898, the New York Charity Organization Society opened a summer session to invited practitioners, and it was followed the next year by one conceived on a broader basis. By the fall of 1903 the summer session had been expanded to an academic year; and by the fall of 1910 the curriculum had been further expanded to two years, at which point most schools of social work now arrange their professional instruction. In the meantime, other schools had come into existence: Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, and St. Louis, each one organized by the practicing social workers of their respective communities. The schools might be affiliated with a local university, but the connections were tenuous, for each school wished to be free to develop its own curriculum unfettered by academic rules. This fact also made them, at the same time, not particularly welcomed by the universities.

In the Middle West, at Ohio State University, Indiana University, and the University of Minnesota, by 1915, schools were established on the undergraduate level, designed particularly for college students working for their bachelor's degree; in contrast were the older schools, whose interest was principally, although not wholly, to furnish the means of professional education to the worker in the field. Each of these schools developed quite independently of the others. The Russell Sage Foundation granted funds for research to the older schools during the years 1907-12, but it made no move to bring their curricula into any alignment.

Representatives of the schools met informally on the occasion of the Conference sessions, and at least once (1917?) appointed a committee to draft a plan for a national association. In the spring of 1919 Porter R. Lee, the director of the New York School of Social Work, invited the heads of the known schools, seventeen in number, to meet with him to discuss the

advisability of creating a national association. The proposal appealed to those who were present, and they reached an agreement that such an organization be formed at the time of the June meeting of the Conference. Thus was established the American Association of Professional Schools of Social Work, which has continued to be the medium for the setting of standards of professional social work education in the United States and Canada and, to some extent, in the rest of the world.

The concern of the Conference for this development was only incidental during this second period. In 1911 Jeffrey R. Brackett, head of the Simmons College School of Social Work, in Boston, made a valid distinction between education and training. Training, he said, was the acquisition of experience under leadership; and education was the acquisition of knowledge. This distinction has not been observed by the schools of social work, which prefer to call themselves "educational institutions." Those who considered educational preparation for social work as an academic project phrased it (as Devine did in 1915), as a discipline in the data of contemporary society, with field work to offer opportunities to observe such conditions as had been discussed in class; though the people who thought of it as learning a method believed that class work should consist of discussion of method, with field work to give the student facility in its use. In the National Conference the discussion does not appear to have reached the degree of bitterness of the early days of the New York School of Social Work. It became merely a matter of historical interest after Abraham Flexner's paper of 1915, and especially after the appearance of Miss Richmond's book on *Social Diagnosis* in 1917. Her book was acclaimed by social workers, and by some people in other professions, as laying a sound basis for method, at least in social casework.

The older Eastern schools started out with what Felix Frank-

further called (1915) a "platonic connection" with a university, which he criticized, as did also Abraham Flexner. They both asserted that the only valid basis for professional training was an integral relation with a university, accepting its standards for admission of students, for appointment of instructors, and for content of curriculum and conditions of graduation. They were thinking not of a literal control of subject matter, but of the maintenance of the same standards for selection as were applied in other university disciplines. Soon after the Association of Schools was formed, this principle was adopted, and no new schools were admitted that did not conform to the rule. By the time that the fiftieth session of the Conference was held (1923) each of the independent schools, save New York and Pennsylvania, the National Catholic School at Washington, and the National Jewish School of Social Service in New York, had become a part of an accredited university.

Just to give evidence that the Conference was an open forum, a dissenting opinion is quoted from an anonymous discussant of Sophonisba P. Breckinridge's paper of 1911 on "Securing and Training Social Workers": . . . "all useful work is social work . . . there is danger of wrecking the useful lives of young men . . . who ought to go into business or professional life . . . but whom someone persuades to drop work of unquestioned utility in favor of a kind of work which is at best of questionable utility."

14 . TOWARD A PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION

*T*HE NATIONAL CONFERENCE itself offered the first opportunity for practitioners in the social services to meet together for the professional exchange of experiences. It was not, however, composed exclusively of paid workers, nor did it have vocational criteria for selection of membership. Through the years, due to the expense in time and money involved in attendance upon its sessions, the tendency has been for the Conference membership to consist almost exclusively of paid employees, and only by the most persistent effort has the volunteer or the board member been induced to become affiliated with it. As a result, for nearly a half a century there was no other organization to bring together the employed personnel on a national scale, to consider the vocational questions faced by the employed staff, in contrast with the functional and social questions with which the Conference was concerned.

The first effort to provide an organization for the personnel was furnished on the local level by social workers' clubs. Even here, the distinction was not easy to make between special needs of the personnel and general needs of the community for a forum on social matters. Many cities, as well as states, had local conferences of charities (called "charities and corrections," and, later, "social work") modeled on the National Conference. In such cities a social workers' club might find itself regarded as superfluous. Probably the pioneer in such

ventures was the Monday Club of Boston. Within the second decade of the twentieth century social workers' clubs had been established in New York, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. The club names are somewhat indicative of their incidental character: Monday Club, in Boston; Hungry Club, in Pittsburgh; S.O.S., in Minneapolis. There doubtless were similar organizations in many other cities, but there was no formal communication between them, and practically no permanent record was kept of their activities. They did meet a local need, however, and they forced the organization of local chapters of the American Association of Social Workers, which contemplated no such structure at the grass roots in its pattern of organization adopted in 1921.

Zilpha D. Smith discussed the value of such a club at the Conference in 1911, when she urged that all communities having as many as a dozen paid social workers employed by several different agencies should organize a club, for the clearance of ideas, for a better understanding of each other's work, and for consideration of mutual problems. She urged, on the basis of Boston's experience, that its membership be limited to professionally paid workers, including representatives of all fields operating in the community, and that the fee be low in order to permit as many as possible to join; the programs should entail participation by the membership. So far as is known, representatives of these clubs never met at the Conference, or anywhere else, to form a national body for the promotion of the movement in other cities, or for exchange of ideas. The social workers' clubs, therefore, were not the direct antecedent of the professional organization, although the experience gained by many members in such clubs definitely influenced its initiation, its function, and, to a less extent, its structure.

The Intercollegiate Bureau of Occupations of New York City was the unwitting parent of the professional association,

when the latter did come into existence. The Bureau was organized in 1911 by the New York alumnae of the Eastern women's colleges for the purpose of offering vocational counseling to graduates in search of opportunities in the field for which they were educationally prepared. Soon after the beginning of the Bureau's operations it was found that the field of social work was so heterogeneous and undefined that a special department was desirable to care for applicants, and one was therefore set up with a social worker in charge. The department soon ceased to function exclusively as a project in vocational counseling and established a registry of all social workers, men as well as women, who were willing to affiliate themselves without reference to placement. In this way was laid the foundation for a national professional association. The logical step of separation from the Intercollegiate Bureau was taken in 1917, with the formation of the National Social Workers' Exchange. The Exchange, national in scope and with branches in two or three cities, was not limited strictly to professional workers, for its membership "was open to persons engaged in social work professionally, or as volunteers and others interested in the purpose of the Exchange." The entire matter of defining the requirements for membership in an association of social workers proved difficult, since those from whom the association would draw its members did not have any single educational preparation which could be used for their identification; a prospective member might be employed, for example, as the visitor for an agency, or as the executive of that agency, as the matron in an institution, or as the head of a national social work association, such as the Child Welfare League of America or Community Service, Inc. In fact, during the fall and winter of 1918-19, an abortive effort to create a national association of social workers, which would seek to capitalize the postwar enthusiasm for democracy and the important

place that social work might play in its world-wide realization, came to naught largely because of the inability of its sponsors to agree on whom the proposed association should include.

In the interval between 1917 and 1921 the National Social Workers' Exchange avoided the pitfall of definition of a social worker, taking into membership quite freely those who felt themselves included in its terms of eligibility. It was, therefore, building up a small but clearly identified group which, in the end, defined eligibility in terms of the functions in which they themselves were engaged. While lacking all the elements of precision, the method probably conformed to the pattern that any emerging profession is compelled to follow. It consisted of a group of practitioners who stated that they represented current practice; they invited others to join. The criteria became stricter with the passage of time as the professional association discovered errors or laxity in its early rules, or was able to establish new standards of practice or of educational preparation. While the Exchange was primarily established for the purpose of furnishing vocational counseling and placement, it early felt that there was a wider function for such an association in "the development of professional standards and organization." Several committees were appointed from time to time to map out this development and to make recommendations looking toward a broader and stronger national body. Finally, at a meeting of the members of the Exchange held at Milwaukee, June 27, 1921, in connection with the annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, it was voted to change the name of the Exchange to the American Association of Social Workers. The professional association was launched and got off to a flying start. It already had a journal, the *Compass*, authorized by the Exchange six months previously.

The Exchange had been financed from three sources: fees for placements, dues of members, and gifts from friends and foundations. Because the new Association was confined strictly to employed professional workers, its leaders felt that if the organization were to be free to direct its own development, financial support should come solely from its own members. At the next Conference, held in Providence in June, 1922, such a resolution was passed, and in order to make up a substantial deficit in the budget occasioned by the withdrawal of foundation support, an appeal was made to the better-paid members for subscriptions much larger than the five-dollar membership fee. Enthusiasm for the project caught the imaginations of social workers, and about thirty of them pledged a hundred dollars a year, while increased contributions of fifty dollars or less swelled the total income. The membership unanimously decided that by 1925 the organization be wholly self-supporting. This goal was reached in 1927.

There was a saving clause in the Providence resolution, by which the Association would be free to accept special gifts or grants from foundations for special projects. Since the placement work of the National Social Workers' Exchange had always operated at a deficit, it was therefore decided that the Association would not undertake the functions of counseling and placement, but instead would allocate them to a separate agency, which could receive grants from foundations. In that way, the Joint Vocational Service was created in 1922, with its own independent board and with responsibility for establishing a placement service on its own merits.

Membership in the American Association of Social Workers was determined by one or more of three methods: all current members of the Exchange were "written in" as charter members; employment for four years in an approved agency (with certain personal characteristics); and professional edu-

cation. A new class of members, the juniors, was set up which had professional education as its aim.

These liberal definitions proved at once too sweeping and, at the same time, too strict. The test of "four years' employment" opened the door too widely, and the qualifying prerequisite of certain "personal characteristics" proved too clumsy to be applied. Any educational test, when coupled with the condition that professional education must be gained in a school that was a member of the Association of Professional Schools of Social Work, could be met, in general, only by those engaged in social casework; for casework was the only area in which the technique had been sufficiently defined and had a sufficient literature to be "communicated by an educational process." This left out most of those engaged in settlement or community activities; it also excluded many subexecutives, or even executives, who had reached their positions without the intervening phase of an educational preparation. For persons who had given exceptional services in the field of social work, but were not otherwise eligible, the new Association made special provision, that the National Executive Committee of the American Association of Social Workers might elect them to membership. This provision is jealously guarded and has been used but rarely.

The *Proceedings* of the Conference carry no mention of this development of the professional association. Apart from Miss Smith's paper on local social workers clubs, not a single paper or comment on the discussions refers to this vital development, which so intimately concerned most of the members of the Conference. This omission was not because of any antagonism between the older body and the new one. William T. Cross, the executive secretary of the Conference (1914-20) and one of the influential movers in the ill-fated National Association of Social Workers, pointed out the entirely different func-

tions of the two bodies. During these years the presidents of the Conference, and many of its former presidents, were on the organizing committees of one or the other of the two projects. A good many meetings of the Exchange took place at the time of the meetings of the annual Conference, since that was the most favorable occasion to get a full national representation. By the second decade of this century, the National Conference had expanded from a single program of meetings organized around subjects in which its members were interested, to a galaxy of conferences meeting at the time of its sessions, and giving to its members a chance to meet with their own special groups. Furthermore, these special groups, unlike the National Conference itself, were not limited in function to conducting a forum. They were usually national organizations, such as the National Probation Association, the Child Welfare League of America, the Family Welfare Association of America, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Salvation Army, and so forth, which passed resolutions, established standards, and performed such functions as a national representative body would undertake at its annual meeting. But their deliberations did not get into the *Proceedings* of the Conference, and only rarely was reference made to them in the papers presented. The Conference, a forum for free discussion, where any competent person might state his opinion or tell his experience, was a nucleus about which clustered a large number of other national bodies, meeting at the same time to conserve the time and effort of several thousand men and women who came from all over the country, representing all sorts and forms of social work. Such were the meetings, beginning with a few people that came together and ending with a large session at Milwaukee, of the group that made up the American Association of Social Workers.

15 • THE UNITED STATES CHILDREN'S BUREAU

IT WAS RELATED, at the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the United States Children's Bureau (1932), that when Lillian Wald happened to read in the morning paper one day in 1906 about a special session of the President's Cabinet being called to consider the menace of the boll weevil, she turned to her breakfast companion, Mrs. Florence Kelley, and said, "This is interesting. Nothing in the interest of children could or would bring about a special Cabinet meeting, or fix the attention of our legislators. We count the boll weevil, or the lobster, or a fish, or a pig as more important than a child." During the discussion that followed, the hope was expressed that someday there would be a Federal bureau that would be as much concerned about the welfare of children as we are about the menace to the crop of cotton. Mrs. Kelley then talked with Dr. Edward T. Devine, and he sent a telegram to President Theodore Roosevelt, who immediately wired back: "It's a bully idea. Come to Washington and let's see."

Miss Wald and Dr. Devine at once went down to Washington and talked over their suggestion with the President. After consulting with Congressional leaders, Senator Murray Crane, of Massachusetts, introduced a bill authorizing such a bureau. This was followed by hearings held all over the land. President Roosevelt then called the White House Conference on Child Welfare in 1909, which passed a resolution in favor of such a bureau.

In the interval between the first suggestion and passage of the bill in 1912, the National Child Labor Committee entered the lists as champion of the idea. Much of the opposition came from the forces opposed to the regulation of child labor. The bill as it was finally passed was introduced by Senator William Borah, of Idaho, and signed by President William Howard Taft on April 9, 1912, six years after its first suggestion.

When the proposed bureau was still in the stage of discussion, Homer Folks gave (1910) what could be considered a classical outline of the arguments of the opposition. He stated that some opponents claimed the proposal did not go far enough; and others, that it attempted to accomplish too much at one step; that the proposed purposes were already cared for by existing statutes; that the objective was good, but that it should be achieved under other than the proposed auspices. Then, the three final arguments (always brought out when other arguments fail) were that the bureau would cost more than the country could afford; that it would destroy our form of government; and that in any event it was unconstitutional!

This most discerning analysis of the delaying tactics employed to defeat legislation of a welfare nature could easily be used in dissecting the opposition to any proposal in this field. It is to be noted that none of the objections is based on the actual merits or faults of the proposal. Tactically, it is apparently not good judgment to oppose welfare legislation in that manner. It should be added that too often these delaying tactics work well.

In support of the proposed bureau, Folks employed a similar light touch. He stated that children were more important than animals, that a live baby is worth much more than a dead one. However, he insisted that the public took no recognition of that fact, in spite of Rochester's (New York) amazing feat in cutting the infant death rate by 50 percent: no attention

was paid to the achievement, he claimed, and no delegations were sent from other cities to find out how such results had been brought about. He emphasized that facts are important, and that there is a serious lag in our knowledge about child welfare. Mr. Folks declared too that the proposed bill was not intended as a joke; and that clarity of information is better than confusion.

The creation of the United States Children's Bureau was the first occasion on which the Federal Government entered the field of the social services as distinguished from public health or education. The bureau was authorized to "investigate and report . . . upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of people," but it was not set up to perform any child welfare service. It has adhered strictly to fact finding and interpretation. Under able leadership the Children's Bureau enlarged itself and set standards for the various areas of child welfare work. This has been accomplished, not by the grant of special legal power, but because the bureau's competence has become recognized and its advice sought by agencies whose function it is to perform the services on which the bureau was reporting.

During the bureau's first year under the capable hand of Julia C. Lathrop, it started to assemble materials pertinent to its field gathered by other departments, and to give them wider circulation; it also initiated studies in infant mortality. Discovering at the outset of such studies the imperfect condition of birth statistics in the various states, the bureau entered upon a campaign for complete registration of births in every state.

In this first period its staff numbered only fifteen, and its over-all budget was the sum of \$25,640. In view of the limited budget and small staff, the head of the bureau was forced to select rigorously the few projects that could be undertaken, leaving to later years the inclusion of other fields of inquiry.

In 1919 the bureau presented at the Conference its first report on infant mortality. Based on a study of sample cases, it showed a definite relation between infant deaths of children under two years of age and the economic status of the family. The mortality rate was found to be 59 per 1,000 live births in families whose income was \$1,250 a year and over, but it rose to 125 in families where the income was only \$450-\$549 a year. The disparity is exaggerated when the comparison is made between breast-fed and artificially fed children: in the upper income group, the infant mortality rate was found to be twice as high among the artificially fed as among the breast fed; but in the lower income group it was seven times as high.

The sample on which these startling findings were based was small, and later studies somewhat modified the results, although without substantially changing the demonstration that it is far more dangerous to be born in a family whose income is low than in one which is able to provide some of the medical and nutritional services essential to the safeguarding of infant life. There are parallel values, such as better parental care, in addition to the food and medical attention enjoyed by the child in the higher income family. On the basis of the bureau's first study, it was stated that it was twice as dangerous to life to be born in a family of poverty than in a family of moderate circumstances; and that in some circumstances it was three and a half times as dangerous.

At the meeting held in honor of the bureau's twentieth anniversary, J. Prentice Murphy, of Philadelphia, one of the great leaders in the field of child welfare and indeed in the entire area of social work, gave special praise to the bureau's long-range and patient investigations with unmarried mothers and their heavily handicapped children: "The Bureau has made us see that what has happened and is happening to these [3,000,000 illegitimately born] children is of immediate and

far-reaching concern to all of us." In this much stigmatized branch of social work in which there has been, on the one hand, brutal and heartless exploitation of children and, on the other hand, a certain sentimentality to fight, the bureau, through its careful investigations, has established norms for the care of the unmarried mother and her children, for the responsibilities of the father, and for the later life of both the mother and her child, and thereby helped to rescue unmarried motherhood from the greed of the exploiter, the prejudice of the moralist, and the sentimentality of the weak. The Children's Bureau in performing this essential service enabled one phase of social work to make advances in method and improvements equaled by few other efforts in the social services.

In 1922, when Grace Abbott had been in charge of the bureau for a year, she laid down three fundamental tasks for the immediate future of the bureau: the passage of the proposed child labor amendment; the enforcement and spread of the services offered by the Sheppard-Towner Act (maternal and infant welfare services in rural areas); and the protection of children from the devastating influence of the economic depression which the country was experiencing at the time.

The effort to limit the labor of children to such work and within such hours as would not be harmful to their physical and intellectual development was not a new project to Grace Abbott. In 1916, while Miss Lathrop was chief of the Children's Bureau, Miss Abbott was induced to join its staff to administer the new responsibilities imposed by the Child Labor Law passed that year. That law forbade the transference in interstate commerce of goods in whose manufacture child labor had been employed. Two years later the law was declared unconstitutional by the Federal Supreme Court, in a five to four decision.

It was the Bureau of Internal Revenue that administered the

law passed in 1919, which set a tax on all mines and manufacturing plants employing child labor. This law was declared unconstitutional in 1922, by an eight to one decision. It is little wonder that as Grace Abbott succeeded Julia Lathrop as the chief of the Children's Bureau she should have placed foremost among the planks of her platform the passage by Congress of a joint resolution proposing that self-same child labor provision as an amendment to the Constitution and promotion of its ratification by the several state legislatures.

The Sheppard-Towner Act (passed in November, 1921), to the effective administration of which Grace Abbott next proposed to devote the resources of the Children's Bureau, interrupted the functioning of that bureau; for the bureau entered into a supervisory and promotional relation with the states on the execution of the legal provisions of the law. The act was devised to spread to nonurban centers the benefits which most cities had given mothers and their infants, by offering nursing, informational, and advisory services to mothers on the care and feeding of their newborn children.

By means of this service, as well as through advances in sanitation and in the protection of urban food and water supplies, the relative death rate of infants in cities and in rural areas had been reversed; and the cities, which historically had a higher death rate than that of the rural areas, had now remarkably reduced that rate. In fact, the rural areas now found themselves with a death rate of newly born children decidedly higher than that of the crowded cities, for all the fresh air and the access to cheap and good food supplies in the country. The objective of the Sheppard-Towner Act was to aid the states to establish maternal and child health services in the rural districts by offering grants-in-aid to states whose provisions for such services met specifications set up by the Children's Bureau.

By June, 1922, forty-two states had accepted the provi-

sions of the act by passing legislation in conformity to its demands. Homer Folks, in his previously quoted list of methods by which legislation for social welfare may be thwarted, omitted the decidedly familiar device by which provisions already in force may be killed by legislative failure to grant the appropriation to carry out the intent of the law. That fate awaited the Sheppard-Towner Act. In 1927 the Appropriations Committee of the House expressed itself as unwilling to continue the money necessary for the administration of the act; but in response to pressure from many sources the committee consented to include it in the appropriations for the next biennium, with the statement that by 1929 the work would have to be completed.

And so this second plank in Grace Abbott's platform was brought to defeat, not by the process of debate in the Congress on its merits, but by the decision of the Congressional committee in charge of finances on the ground that it could not be afforded. This action took place in the most prosperous years the country had known to that time. It remained for the agony of the great depression of the 1930s, with its unmistakable evidence of the unjust manner in which the cost of the "recession" was borne, to bring back the same measure in the Social Security Act of 1935, and so again to enable a country-born child to secure a protection from the perils of infancy equivalent to that enjoyed by his city-born cousin.

Miss Abbott's third plank to protect children from the effects of unemployment did not prove so important in the first years of her administration because the short business depression of 1921-22 quickly gave way to one of the dizziest periods of prosperity this or any other country had ever known. That it was a sound objective, however, no one gainsaid; and its pertinency was abundantly demonstrated when, in the next decade, again a substantial percentage of the working popu-

lation was unemployed, and their children exposed to the hazards of an uncertain maintenance.

The main task of the Children's Bureau remained through all these years the investigation of the conditions of child life, and the publication of these findings. Over the years it has produced hundreds of sound and carefully documented monographs on all phases of child welfare, including foster and institutional care; juvenile court administration and probation; mothers' allowances for dependent children; maternity homes and their regulation in the interest of the children born within them; recreation as a socializing factor, and also as a preventive of delinquency; day nurseries and their problems, and the possibilities inherent in nursery schools. All go to form an impressive library of source materials quite without equal, and a glowing tribute to the sound workmanship and vision of the bureau's first great leader, Julia C. Lathrop, and of her successors.

16 • CHILD LABOR

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION changed the nature of the work of children from vocational preparation for adult responsibilities to mechanical and meaningless tasks. The compensation provided by schools in order to make good this vocational loss could not be enjoyed by the child who spent his daylight hours in a textile mill.

England, 150 years ago, noticed this deprivation of preparation for his life work suffered by the child, and her public-spirited men sensed the physical and moral hazards to be expected when many children work long hours under the harsh supervision of foremen rather than carrying out small tasks for their respective parents. The first law referring to child labor passed by England, in 1802, was called the Health and Morals Act.

Massachusetts took the lead in the United States, enacting restrictive legislation in 1836, at a time when it was estimated that two fifths of all employees in New England factories were between the ages of seven and sixteen. Up to the end of the nineteenth century it was said that less than a dozen states had passed laws to limit the legal age for working children and the hours within which they might work.

At this point the National Consumers' League was organized in 1899, and the National Child Labor Committee in 1904. The latter grew out of the interest in child labor which followed an address delivered at the Atlanta Conference (1903) by Edward Gardner Murphy, of Alabama, on "Child Labor as a Na-

tional Problem." From this time, a determined effort built on national lines was made to bring the states up to some uniform and valid standard of regulation of the labor of children. The United States Children's Bureau furnished a great deal of information on the human costs of child labor, gained by its studies.

The memory of three persons should be honored for their courageous leadership in the crusade to rescue children from the stultifying bondage of child labor: Mrs. Florence Kelley (1859-1932); Alexander J. McKelway (1866-1918); and Owen R. Lovejoy (1866-).

Mrs. Kelley, a graduate of Northwestern Law School, served as chief factory inspector for Illinois from 1893 to 1897 and became the first executive secretary of the National Consumers' League in 1899. While in Chicago, she stayed at Hull House, and when she removed to New York she lived at Henry Street Settlement.

The "White List" of manufacturers, prepared by the National Consumers' League, is now largely forgotten, but it was compiled in an attempt to encourage buyers to limit their purchases of goods to those produced under approved working conditions. For a time the movement appeared to possess vitality, but the necessity of buying in the lowest market, inherent in a competitive economy, proved an almost insurmountable barrier to the League program. Mrs. Kelley, however, was a valiant and resourceful fighter who never knew when she was defeated.

Her vision was not limited to superficial aspects; insistently she searched for underlying causes. One could never forget how, in a debate on widows' pensions, she startled her hearers by the statement, "I don't believe we should have widows!" With this declaration she dramatically summarized all she had seen of the needless deaths of wage earners and, incidentally,

expressed the belief that stress should also be placed on preventing those deaths in the first place. Florence Kelley occupied a unique place in her large circle of friends as a lovable, if fiery, personality.

Alexander J. McKelway, secretary of the National Child Labor Committee for the Southern states from its organization in 1904 to his death fourteen years later, was a Presbyterian minister who was born and educated in the South. He was a strong believer in the ability of the South to accept the standards of school attendance and child labor adopted by the more progressive Northern states. His territory covered the areas of most stubborn and successful resistance to improving the conditions of child labor in the country. The resistance was reinforced by the assumptive necessity of the South to build up its industry by paying low wages; and the citation of Northern experience did not help the argument. No one can measure the extent of effectiveness of McKelway's efforts in furthering such improvements as were made, but he maintained a courageous and loyal front through the extremely difficult years after 1915, when the National Child Labor Committee had decided it was hopeless to bring the South up to any decent standard and turned its effort to the passage of Federal legislation.

Owen R. Lovejoy, like McKelway, had come into social work from the ministry, both finding in social work a field for the exercise of their passion for humanity which the church did not offer. Each entered his unexpected career early enough in life to give it the vigor of his best years. Lovejoy is one of the unsung heroes of social work; a man who combined a singular purity of religious devotion with a loyalty to liberal philosophy, he achieved the distinction of being the only man against whose election to the presidency of the Conference a formal protest was made to the Executive Committee, a protest that failed. This opposition was on the ground of his expressed sympathy

for Eugene V. Debs's candidacy for the presidency of the United States on the Socialist ticket (1919).

As chairman of the Conference Committee on Standards of Living and Labor in 1912, Lovejoy drafted a set of reforms in industrial relations that previsioned almost precisely the Bull Moose platform of the Progressive party on which Theodore Roosevelt ran that same fall. That platform reached the high-water mark of idealistic democracy scored by this country in times of peace and prosperity. Lovejoy's interests were not at all confined to his own quite lonely objective. He was a prolific writer of Conference papers on a wide range of subjects. He was greatly interested in the formation of the American Association of Social Workers in 1921 and became its second president.

Child labor has been said to be caused by "tradition and poverty." Children have always worked in one way or another. An economic system in which the wage scale tends to descend to what is barely necessary to support the wage earner forces families of the unskilled and the low-paid workers to send their children to work to supplement an inadequate income. Other factors have entered the scene, such as the belief that parents have a right to send their children to work, and, for many children, the relatively greater attractiveness of wage earning over school attendance (Jane Addams, *Proceedings*, 1908). Fundamentally, however, the maintenance of an adequate standard of living for the unskilled worker demands that his children and his wife contribute to the support of the household when they are physically able to do so (O. R. Lovejoy, *Proceedings*, 1923).

Edward Gardner Murphy in his Atlanta address (1903) pointed out that it was poor economy to hire children at low wages. He put the blame for this shortsighted policy, however,

on Northern capitalists who had established mills in the South. Whether he was correct in his judgment is not particularly important, from the point of view of the regulation of child labor. The issue became one of the South against the North—and one which finally induced a reaction in the New England states. The latter could not—or claimed that they could not—adopt better child labor legislation because of competition with the Southern child workers employed at low wages in the textile mills. There was probably little basis of fact in the contention of either section of the country, but it proved in the end a successful method of blocking improvement in both the North and the South.

The first ten years of the work of the National Child Labor Committee saw the greatest advance ever achieved in this country (1914) in the adoption of state laws on child labor. From barely a dozen states with inadequate and badly administered laws, the roll had grown to forty states, each of them having adopted laws approximating the uniform child labor law proposed by the American Bar Association. The eight exceptions were five Southern states and Nevada, New Mexico, and Vermont. The last three were unimportant; for in New Mexico and Nevada there were but few children employed and in Vermont a well-enforced school attendance law insured the same result. A few states ignored the minimum age limit of fourteen years, and established it at sixteen.

The energies of the national and local child labor committees had been largely expended in securing the passage of these laws, and the committees had not successfully followed up on their enforcement. In many places factory inspection was weak and corrupt, the positions being filled by political hacks, some of whom had secured the jobs because of their activity in opposing the passage of child labor laws in their state legislatures.

In 1907 Senator Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana, presented to

the Conference the arguments for a Federal law to be based on the power of Congress to regulate commerce as the one way to handle the child labor problem on a national scale. The Supreme Court having upheld the power of Congress to prohibit the interstate distribution of lottery tickets in the interest of national welfare, Beveridge argued that the court would therefore hold that Congress has the power to pass a child labor law on the same principle. He showed that twenty-seven times, the Supreme Court had approved the exercise of such power by the Congress in situations analogous to child labor, that is, to prohibit the transfer across states boundaries of goods deemed in some way injurious to the welfare of the nation. (If he had spoken several years later, he could have cited the Mann Act, wherein it was not goods, but persons that could not be transported across state lines under certain circumstances, and that law was declared constitutional.) Beveridge believed that child labor could be stopped only by a Federal law because of the "handicap" suffered by a state whose legislation was much in advance of its neighbors.

After the two acts passed by Congress had been declared unconstitutional, as related in Chapter 15, advisers of the National Child Labor Committee abandoned the effort to pass a law which might be approved by the Supreme Court, and turned their attention to securing a constitutional amendment that would definitely grant such power to the Congress. Herbert C. Hoover, then Secretary of the Department of Commerce, urged (1922), "that a final effort be made to bring all states into line to abolish child labor. If that cannot be accomplished quickly, I regretfully join with those in favor of Federal action." The context indicates that he meant an amendment to the Constitution. At the same Conference, Msgr. John A. Ryan, speaking in the shadow of the second adverse decision of the Supreme Court on child labor, said that "if the friends of better child labor

legislation were compelled to choose between state action and federal action they ought to decide in favor of the latter."

These two opinions from widely diverse sources expressed the conviction of people intimately interested in suppressing the evils of child labor, and so attention was directed to the passage of a joint resolution by Congress looking toward an amendment to the Constitution. Such a resolution was passed in the spring of 1924, giving to Congress "the power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age."

The friends of such legislation looked forward with confidence to the ultimate approval by the necessary three fourths of the state legislatures, in view of the expected public support of regulation of child labor. However, the opposition marshaled an impressive array of adverse forces—conservative, industrial, religious, and even sentimental—and the required three fourths has never been reached. At the Conference of 1925, Owen Lovejoy and former Senator Charles S. Thomas, of Colorado, debated at a general session the pros and cons of the child labor amendment. The extravagant interpretation of the proposed amendment made by its bitterest opponents is well summarized in Thomas's plea: the structure of the nation will fall if the amendment is adopted. There must have been some powerful interests menaced by it, to call forth such wild—and at the time widespread—opposition.

In 1921, commenting on three proposed amendments submitted in 1789, 1810, and 1861 which had not received approval by the requisite three quarters of the states, the Supreme Court said that "approval must be within some reasonable time after the proposal." It has not passed specifically upon whether the child labor amendment is still before the states. Agitation for a Federal law against child labor ceased with the failure to secure the adoption of the amendment, and efforts to control child labor reverted back to the states, with the exception of certain

New Deal legislation of the 1930s and of the years of the second World War.

Two sore spots in child labor remain to claim attention: street trades and agricultural labor. Hawkers and "little" businessmen are accustomed to hiring child labor on the streets, but it is reserved to the power of the press really to protect its own interests! Newspapers have steadily opposed regulation of street trades, as well as the adoption of the child labor amendment. They have used all their resources to publicize the "energetic young merchant" as the valuable citizen of the future and on the whole they have been quite successful in blocking efforts to limit hours and territories within which the newsboy may operate.

The newsboy is not an employee but an independent merchant, so it requires special regulations to protect him against the perils of his work. License of the children by school authorities; prohibiting the employment of boys under a certain age (with a higher age for girls); districting a community—all have been tried, with some measure of success. But the evil still remains, and constitutes a very real problem in the general improvement of child labor conditions and regulations.

Agricultural child labor presents an anomalous problem. Often it consists of work by children for their parents at tasks which from time immemorial children have to some extent been accustomed to perform. In 1924 Wiley H. Swift, of the National Child Labor Committee, estimated that three quarters of a million children were employed in agricultural tasks instead of being at school. Swift, in the same article, pointed to the correlation of high illiteracy with the high percentage of agricultural child workers.

In rural areas, the point of attack is school attendance. As its enforcement is a matter for local school boards, whose members may be using their own children on the farm instead of sending

them to school, the remedy for the situation can only be found (again in violation of the principle of local control) in some state programs of grants-in-aid. The subvention to local schools is based on the number of days of school attendance, not on school enrollment or on the length of the school year.

Felix Adler, president of the National Child Labor Committee, spoke (1920) of the regulation of rural child labor as a more promising field than regulation in factories or mills. If there are good school attendance laws, well enforced, the occupation of the farm worker, being full of variety, unlike the monotonous labor of the factory operative, makes the highest demands on the intelligence and education of those who fill it. The great development of the 4H Clubs among rural boys and girls seems to be some fulfillment of Adler's prophecy.

17 • THE JUVENILE COURT

CREDIT for the creation of the first juvenile court in this country is usually given to the state of Illinois, which established this special procedure in chancery for the consideration of children's behavior in the Circuit Court in June, 1899. On the other hand, according to Judge Benjamin B. Lindsey (1925), Colorado had granted the same authority to county judges a few months before. The roots of the legal procedure go back many centuries in English practice to the chancery function of the court over the property and welfare of minors.

The theory of chancery is that a girl or a boy who commits a delinquent act should be considered a child whose social development has been so faulty that the state is warranted to intervene as an authority superior to that of the parent, in order to insure to the child such corrective influences as will compensate for his previous upbringing. There are in the main, therefore, two functions belonging to a juvenile court. One is based on a determination of fact: does this child come under the legal definition of a boy or a girl in need of protection by the state? The other function is to provide such protection. The first is a judicial function; the second is an administrative one. Homer Folks, at the 1906 Conference, made clear the distinction, which Judge Julian W. Mack, of the Cook County Juvenile Court, at the same Conference entirely approved, and which Abraham Flexner in 1910 repeated in his lucid and logical manner.

Homer Folks and Judge Mack, at the Conference of 1906,

suggested as a corollary to their thesis that there should be an independent department of probation, consisting of a board with authority to set qualifications for probation officers and to select them by a merit system; such a department would be either local or statewide.

Flexner, laying more stress on the judicial function, questioned the wisdom of bringing to the juvenile court any cases except those of delinquency of a child or of an adult who has contributed to a child's delinquency. In view of such a position, he would entirely remove the function of relief—mothers' pensions—from the juvenile court and place it in an independent administrative agency. (This was the position that Massachusetts had taken.)

Judge James Hoge Ricks, of Richmond, Virginia, expressed the same opinion in 1920, merely adding that in cases involving guardianship, the question is one for judicial decision, with which Flexner's statement is not in disagreement. Some of the early juvenile judges, notably Judge Lindsey, of Denver, acted as their own probation officers, but ordinarily that expedient has not been recommended.

This negative attitude is based on the totally dissimilar function of the judge, whose responsibility is to pass on the law and the facts of the case, and that of the probation officer, whose duty it is to study the child in his entire setting, and to put into operation those measures he deems best fitted to provide the child with such assistance as will enable him to avoid the pitfalls of his past experience. It is a job in social casework (Grace Abbott, *Proceedings*, 1929)—the subtle task of understanding a unique individual, and of reinforcing his inner resources and environmental influences to his best advantage.

One of the primary difficulties in this dual situation is the selection of a competent judge. Judge Mack remarked (1906) that unless "the justice is interested in philanthropy, you might

as well give up the Juvenile Court." He deplored the method of changing the juvenile judge every three months, not to speak of more often, and believed that the right person should be urged to sacrifice "his intellectual pursuits" and serve for one or two years. Nowhere in the *Proceedings* of the Conference is any mention made of a basic difficulty inherent in the effort to engraft upon an elaborate and well-seasoned practice in judicial procedure chiefly concerned with civil law a function almost totally alien to its interest, such as determining whether a socially handicapped child is in need of the protection of the state. The custom of rotating the selection of the judge to act in the juvenile court results either in the office being fixed upon the one least able to defend himself against such assignment, or in its acceptance as a necessary chore that must be done with as soon as possible; not as a new professional challenge. As Judge Edward F. Waite, who for twenty of his thirty years on the district bench of Hennepin County (Minnesota) served as juvenile judge, expressed it:

Time spent on the juvenile bench has little professional significance. From the legal point of view the cases heard are simple; whatever technical learning and acumen the judge may have is likely to suffer from disuse; contacts made in court do not add to his professional prestige; he is not in line for professional promotion, and after service as juvenile judge he is at least no better off as a lawyer than if the time had been spent in some wholly nonjudicial task. Reward for efficient service according to the standards commonly applied to trial judge is not to be expected.

William H. Hodson, after serving four years as director of the Children's Bureau of Minnesota (during which time he became one of the leading authorities on child welfare, including the operation of the juvenile court), was told by the foremost legal firms of Minneapolis and St. Paul that his experience not only did not fit him for employment by them, but, rather the

reverse, all his experience and facility would have to be unlearned and he would have to start all over again.

This exclusive professional concern of law with civil law reacts badly on its relation with criminal procedure, as well as on the juvenile court. No one has suggested a solution which, at one and the same time, is accepted by the legal profession and the broad field of the social services. Some courts, as in Ohio, have appointed referees, and chosen to fill the positions people well qualified to deal with the social in contrast with the legal questions involved in the cases.

New ground was broken in 1909 by the formation of the Psychopathic Institute as an arm of the Cook County Juvenile Court, with Dr. William Healy in charge. Credit for its establishment is given by Dr. Healy to the initiative of Julia Lathrop, and to the generosity of Mrs. William Dummer. European criminologists had urged expert psychological examinations of criminals as a basis on which treatment should be given; but in the United States this was the first instance in which a court routinely used a competent psychiatrist. Credit should also be given to Judge Merritt W. Pinckney, of the Cook County Juvenile Court, for his courage in making such a radical change in procedure.

Dr. Healy's first interest was in determining the degree of intelligence shown by the children examined by him (1911), but by the time his classic work, *The Individual Delinquent*, appeared (1929) his interests had widened to include the emotional and mental life of the child. His most significant suggestion, that "the boy's own story" had an important diagnostic value and was perhaps the most important of all sources of knowledge of the boy, has grown to be the capital stone in the structure of contemporary psychiatric examinations, as well as of social case inquiries. From the purely legal point of view, and because of the inability of the judge to evaluate its significance,

"the boy's own story" would be looked upon by the judge as a fanciful fairy tale.

The services of Dr. Healy and his many successors furnish a bridge to span the gap between the legalistic determination of "fact" and its social interpretation, available to the judge who, like Pinckney, is wise enough to ask for it. Indeed, a new judicial procedure in juvenile cases as well as in criminal cases might develop in time. For the present, at least, the major service of the psychiatrist is to guide the probation officer in offering a clue to the personality of the child, together with suggestions as to his treatment. The psychiatrist then has a double function. He should present to the judge an explanation of the personality of the delinquent child, on which the judge can decide whether the child is to be sent to an institution or placed on probation. He then has also the task of expertly advising the institution or the probation officer as to the sort of treatment the child should receive.

This is a complex situation in which there is great变ability of the parts. If the judge is not overly defensive of his prerogatives, he welcomes the services of the psychiatrist, and leaves a good deal of authority in the hands of his probation officers. If the psychiatrist is proficient, he recognizes the limits of the areas of his competency, and leaves to judge and probation officers responsibility for their tasks. If the probation officer is a well-qualified social caseworker, skillful in the use of the services of the judge and of the psychiatrist and all the other factors on which treatment depends, he can ably fit himself into this difficult pattern.

Again, if all three parties in this joint operation were constant, they would probably weld themselves into a team of considerable efficiency; but in general, the one member of the team with ultimate authority, the judge, in most places, is frequently changed, and the other members of the team again and again

have to learn the personality, the prejudices, even the defensiveness of a new judge (Frederick Moran, *Proceedings*, 1930). In such a difficult structural situation it is not any wonder that real efficiency in dealing with the subtle problems of a delinquent child is seldom reached; and that only too often the various services tend to crystallize into rigid formulas.

A serious limitation upon the juvenile court has been the absence of a tradition of supplying an adequate staff to the bench, and when it took on the task of probation there was no precedent to support its needs for a staff large enough to do the work assigned. Then, too, probation had been largely a volunteer effort; working at times under public bodies, such as the group of women in Massachusetts in the last century, or in the early days of the juvenile courts, representatives of religious sects were sent by their denominations to serve any member of their faith who was under court supervision. In Chicago, Judge Mack could call upon a private agency to furnish paid probation officers, but he felt that there were too few available for the volume of work; and so he recommended the use of volunteers (1906); the same action had been taken by Henry W. Thurston, chief probation officer of the Cook County Juvenile Court, in the previous year. Thurston stated that the case loads of each probation officer varied from 150 to 225 cases, and that it was humanly impossible to do justice to so many children. He therefore recommended the enlistment of volunteers as a remedy. Judge William H. deLacy, of the juvenile court in Washington, D.C., was not impressed (1909) by what he saw of the work of the volunteer probation officer, however. The experience of charity organization societies in the use of volunteers was roughly paralleled in probation. Some of the more enthusiastic early leaders were able to use them; but the inevitable trend to substitute the paid worker was already winning out.

The individual loads of probation officers, however, remain impossibly high even today.

An important change in procedure was advocated by Dr. Lilburn Merrill, of Seattle, in 1913: the hearing out of court of certain nonserious cases in order to leave the court free to consider the more important complaints and also to save many children from a court record. Dr. Merrill did not suggest how it might be done, but the procedure has become general practice in many juvenile courts. The chief probation officer, or someone deputized to act for him, hears the complaint and decides whether it is to go further or not. This cannot be done, obviously, without the full approval of the court.

Most lawyers resent the invasion of their domain by probation officers; as a matter of practice, lawyers are now actually excluded from the juvenile courts. The influence of the juvenile court on criminal and even on civil procedure was noticeable, however, throughout this period, although only incidentally. Parenthetically, it should be added that the opposition of the legal profession is not sound, for in general, appeals taken from decisions of juvenile courts on grounds of procedure have been decided by the higher courts in favor of their legality.

The first suggestion for extension of the jurisdiction of the juvenile court was that it cover all cases of domestic relations, and such a court has been established in Buffalo, in Cincinnati, and in certain other cities. The proviso that it should be inclusive of all juvenile cases, however, has not generally been carried out. The only change in the court handling domestic relations has been in the matter of procedure, and in the recognition that such cases call for the method of probation rather than imprisonment for their treatment. In 1925 Judge Lindsey made the interesting suggestion that a Court of Human Relations be es-

tablished. Whether this should include all matters now covered in courts of criminal jurisdiction, as well as domestic relations and juvenile delinquency, is not clear, but the logical development of the juvenile court idea, as Juvenile Judge T. Munford Boyd, of Charlottesville, Virginia, pointed out in 1928, is to produce a revision of the general body of criminal law and criminal procedure of the future.

18 · MOTHERS' PENSIONS

THE PRIOR CLAIM of the widow on relief, whether public or private, noted in earlier chapters, softened the almost rigid theory that relief is injurious and should be granted only in the almshouse. The plight of a mother left dependent by the death of her husband opened the heart, if only slightly the purse strings, of a nation beginning to be self-conscious of social causes and results. Logically, the next step would have been to consider the mother and her children as a preferential class of relief recipients, but some influence never identified ignored the mother and singled out the children for aid. The inference is almost inescapable that in some way the French movement of bonuses for children influenced the first legislation. Nowhere in the history of American welfare before 1910 had there been any indication of a philosophy that children living in their own homes were to be assisted apart from their parents.

The report of the first White House Conference on Child Welfare in 1909, from which the movement for mothers' pensions received inspiration, stated that "homelife is the highest and finest product of civilization," and on that basis it made the plea that no home should ever be broken up for reasons of poverty alone. Yet in 1911 when the first legal provisions were passed in Missouri, and the same year in Illinois, they were for grants to children alone; the mother and the home she sought to maintain were ignored in these early provisions, so far as recognition of their claim for assistance was concerned. In six states and the District of Columbia, this shortsighted policy has not

been followed; instead, the need of the family is the basis of the grant. However, the general rule was to base grants on the number of children, and a policy so fundamentally unjust to the concept of the primary importance of the home is perpetuated in the section on Aid to Dependent Children of the Federal Social Security Act of 1935. The principle of allowing somewhat more for the first child than for subsequent children does not meet the charge that the plan ignores the mother and her home. The cost of caring for an only child is recognized to be greater than the cost of maintaining each subsequent child.

The Kansas City law of 1911 was entitled "Mothers' Pensions," whereas the Illinois law was termed the "Funds to Parents Act." The more conservative proponents of mothers' pensions would have limited the provisions to widows (James F. Jackson, *Proceedings*, 1914), but gradually the distinction between the needs of a family in which the father is dead and one in which he is permanently incapacitated or incarcerated for a considerable period of time became indefensible, and most laws were early expanded to include all but families deserted by the husband. However, as the casework services within this field improved, it was seen that deserted wives could be included without the danger of encouraging desertion by lazy husbands (Pinckney, *Proceedings*, 1912).

Most of the early laws were permissive; but if the cost of their operation fell exclusively upon the local government unit, mothers' pensions might have very scant application. Thus in Missouri, where the law applied only to Kansas City and St. Louis, there were in those two cities less than two hundred recipients of such aid at the time of the passage of the Federal Social Security Act in 1935, although in many states there was wider participation than in Missouri. Where the state shared the expense of the law with local units, there was much wider and more general participation, Pennsylvania being the out-

standing example. In the few states under state-financed programs, there was more nearly statewide coverage than elsewhere.

The way in which the juvenile court entered the picture can best be described as an accident. The first Missouri law, applicable only to Kansas City, indicated the juvenile court as its administrator; the law for St. Louis placed it in a special body, the Board of Children's Guardians. The Illinois Funds to Parents Act designated the juvenile court as in command. Very early, a few states, such as Massachusetts, placed administration as a special mandate upon the overseers of the poor and so rescued the law from the handicap of being a provision that ignored the family and considered only the child. The same policy was originally adopted by Indiana.

But the trend toward placing the aid under the juvenile court prevailed in most of the Northwestern states of the Union, and its benefits were geared to the number of children, not to the mother's requirements. The juvenile court of Cook County, under the administrations of Judge Mack, and of his successor, Judge Pinckney, had made an enviable reputation for integrity and courage. Moreover, there was a belief that pensions for mothers should be regarded as earned, so as to avoid the stigma of pauperism that clung to the recipient of public charity. How much influence the Fabian Socialists of England, with their determination to break up the Poor Law and distribute its functions to other political institutions, played in the decision to separate mothers' pensions from general relief has never been shown. In accordance with their theory that maintenance of the home was a function of the chancery court, the juvenile court would have been the Fabian Society's logical choice. In the debate on mothers' pensions at the 1912 Conference, Julia Lathrop spoke of the Minority Report of the English Poor Law Commission of 1909 as setting the new philosophy for public

assistance, indicating that she was well acquainted with the policy of the Fabian Socialists.

This new function, however, has never rested easily upon the juvenile court, and important authorities, including Judge Pinckney himself (1912), had opposed it as a function of the juvenile court on the grounds that determination of need is not a judicial, but an administrative function. Certainly, determining the amount of assistance and furnishing the casework services to meet it have little of the judicial nature. While not supported by strict logic, the choice of the juvenile court as the auspices under which mothers' pensions were granted probably did much to rescue that form of assistance from the stigma of public relief, and indirectly influenced a revaluation of the entire philosophy of assistance, the end of which has not yet been reached.

The National Conference's concern with mothers' allowances was chiefly limited to a debate in 1912 between its defenders in Chicago and its Eastern critics and an interesting summary of the situation in several states published in the 1914 *Proceedings*. The arguments opposed to mothers' pensions centered largely in the familiar criticisms of public outdoor relief: that it could not be done well by the state; that it was degrading to the recipient; that it became unmanageable in size because of its inefficient administration; and that the sense of "right" to assistance which it encouraged became a threat, although at least one speaker (Frederick Almy, of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, 1912) raised the question of whether after all a widow did not have such a right. It was further claimed that private organization of charity could handle the problem more economically and efficiently, and with less injury to the families involved.

In their arguments for mothers' pensions the proponents denied that private agencies could, or ever did, handle adequately

the relief needs of widowed families; that the new child labor laws reduced the potential income from children; and finally, that the state has a duty to such families which can only be met by providing an adequate and reliable income to insure the maintenance of the home.

The impression one receives after reading these old debates is that the leaders in the charity organization movement in the East were shortsighted in their opposition. In the face of such a sincere effort as Judge Pinckney's to break new ground for a sound method of social casework, it would have been the part of wisdom for the charity organizations to throw all possible experience and guidance into the endeavor rather than to stand on the side lines and predict failure.

There is a question, at present insoluble: What gave the tremendous vigor to the movement for mothers' pensions? It created a body of public opinion which swept the legislators from their feet. Bills of this sort, even in the Illinois legislature, passed without consultation with any social workers, public or private. There was an organization in the city of New York known as the Widowed Mothers' Fund Association, of which Sophie Irene Loeb was the dominant personality. The influence of this association spread beyond the borders of the city and even passed the boundaries of the state of New York. It may have been an aspect of the progressive spirit of the early years of the second decade, but it was specific: the Widowed Mothers' Fund wanted to secure for every dependent mother in America an assured income, which income should not be furnished through existing public or private agencies. The movement made a clean sweep of the country so that by 1913, seventeen state legislatures had passed substantially identical measures. Such well-defined movements do not just happen.

It is possible that the movement for mothers' pensions was the outlet for the nascent sense of social responsibility that sought

expression in an object emotionally somewhat removed from the operation of prejudices that confused and encumbered other phases of relief giving. It was a thoughtful program of differentiated aid and—in no flippant sense—the child was father to the thought.

19 · THE RECOGNITION OF SOCIAL CASEWORK

THE DEVELOPMENT of a social technique, such as social casework, has what might fittingly be called a "preliterate" phase during which its elements are tested out and made ready for the task for which it is designed. Yet of this period of probably intensive activity there is no record—much as our great human cultures seem to spring fully developed from an unrecorded past. Certainly, that is true of our most familiar technical term: social casework. Probably the first appearance of "casework" in the *Proceedings* was in a paper by Edward T. Devine—the first that he gave after becoming secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York in 1897—in which he said that "good case work involves much thankless labor."

The term did not occur again in the title of a Conference paper until 1909 when Mary K. Simkhovitch, of Greenwich House, New York, suggested that there was a place for the use of the method of casework with families "above the poverty line," known to settlements. In 1901 Zilpha Smith and Mary Richmond read important papers describing the methods used and the scope of resources available in casework, but in neither paper did the term "casework" occur. Then in 1911 casework burst into full view as an accepted and well-known technique. Frederick Almy, of Buffalo, spoke of adequate relief as a factor "in case work"; Dr. Adolf Meyer, of Johns Hopkins University, spoke of "Case Work in Social Service and Medical and Social Coöperation in Nervous and Mental Diseases"; and Por-

ter R. Lee read a paper on "The Social Function of Case Work." From that date, social casework entered the field of literate history, becoming the best known and, ultimately, the most widely employed skill in social work. Of the steps that led to this completed result, nothing is known, further than the inferential explanation given in Chapter 10.

What is social casework? It is perhaps significant that there has been no paper in the Conference on that exact subject. Mary Richmond wrote a book, published in 1922, with that title, and its definition gained general acceptance at first. Karl de Schweinitz, with his genius for words, calls it "the art of helping." Mary Richmond used to say, informally, that it was the use of common sense in uncommon situations. Already noted is Zilpha Smith's insistence that casework means leaving no stone unturned to find the trouble which drags a person down. In her 1901 paper she implied that it is a process by which a person becomes known, quoting Jane Addams as maintaining, "It is nonsense to say that one cannot know the poor who does not live with them. You know the poor if you take pains to know them." Miss Smith identified social casework by that statement as the method of taking "pains to know" the applicant. The word "individualize" was often used to describe the process of casework.

It is to be noted that, in these early explanations, the process of casework was limited to the investigation by which the visitor might come to know the family. Charles Birtwell spoke (1902) of the necessity of "knowing" the potential foster home, by the same means and for the same reason. It may therefore be said that social casework, in its early stages, was the process by which the visitor overcame the applicant's protective reserve and the obstacles to knowing the otherwise anonymous essential person, a result necessary in order to base whatever was advised or done on a foundation of fact rather than of fancy.

At this stage of its formulation, social casework was not de-

veloping the subject of treatment with as much care as that of investigation. In that rule-of-thumb age it could be assumed that, given adequate knowledge, the form which action should take would follow; and in some situations, just such a result did take place. If a man were unemployed, work would be indicated as the remedy. If sickness were present, the use of medical resources could be advised. In the cases of low-skilled workmen whose inadequate wages kept their family in a chronic stage of dependency, Mary Richmond used to say that it was better to spend a thousand dollars to teach the man a skilled occupation at which he could earn an adequate wage, than to spend a hundred dollars in relief to the family. Dr. Richard C. Cabot told the story of the child who repeatedly visited the clinic on account of pediculosis, which was permanently cleared up, not by the medical services at the clinic, but by the casework of the medical social worker who found the whole family afflicted with the same parasite. All these are examples of how suitable treatment followed almost automatically on discovery of the real difficulty.

Nevertheless, investigation at the hands of the unskillful worker was a dangerous tool. It tended to deteriorate into "snooping" about to see what unfavorable factors could be unearthed in a family. So long as the concept of worthy and unworthy, or any other moralistic jargon, dominated the philosophy of the caseworker, investigation was almost certain to become a means to discover the unfavorable features of people's lives—and whose life does not possess hosts of them? It might become a device to refuse appeals and cause the social caseworker, in turn, to become hardened and suspicious. With the rapid spread of charity organizations in which the principle of investigation was fully accepted, it is not surprising that social casework was looked upon by some people as a barren and dehumanized process from which all the warmth and love of

fellow man that was supposed to characterize human relations had been plucked out by the roots. It is probably not going beyond the facts to state that such a result is a constant threat to the whole field of social casework, and it accounts for much of the opposition with which casework was greeted on its emergence into literate expression.

Between 1911 and 1917 the value of the method of social casework was becoming more widely appreciated by the actual practitioners themselves. Dr. Cabot and his chief medical social worker, Ida Cannon, were demonstrating its utility in the social treatment of the sick; Ada Sheffield, in Boston, was employing it in her work with unmarried mothers; C. C. Carstens, recently come to the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, was finding it essential in protective work with children; Porter R. Lee, who had succeeded Mary Richmond in Philadelphia, was developing that philosophical grasp of the function of social casework in contemporary society which was to contribute much to the establishment of the method on a world-wide basis.

In the spring of 1914, Mary Richmond gave the Kennedy Lectures in Social Case Work before the New York School of Philanthropy. The clamor for admission was so great that they were delivered to two different groups without satisfying the demand. The lectures, in turn, were followed in 1917 by the classic in this field, *Social Diagnosis*, acclaimed at once as meeting the most exacting requirements of professional and scholarly standards. The effect of Mary Richmond's book on the whole field of the social services was dramatic. Instead of being somewhat apologetically acknowledged by social workers, social diagnosis became overnight *the* process of social work, threatening to overshadow all other techniques in the field of human relations. Mary Richmond declared, recognizing this sudden tendency to limit social work to social casework, "I have spent twenty-five years of my life in an attempt to get so-

cial casework accepted as a valid process in social work. Now I shall spend the rest of my life trying to demonstrate to social caseworkers that there is more to social work than social casework."

The coming of the first World War was destined to strengthen even more strongly the dominance of social casework in the field of social work. The psychiatrists and psychologists who laid the basis of the first application of psychiatry to men in the armed services who were severely affected by the emotional shocks incidental to war found in the well-trained social caseworker just the assisting personnel necessary for the examination and treatment of those suffering from battle neuroses and psychoses; and because psychiatry was then beginning to adopt the dynamic methods of the psychoanalysts, social caseworkers for the first time had guidance in the treatment of their applicants, as well as more subtle diagnostic processes available for understanding them.

Social casework had not been uninfluenced by psychiatry even before the war. Mary Richmond drew on Dr. Adolf Meyer, of Johns Hopkins University, for guidance in developing her theory of social diagnosis. In some cities, psychiatrists were members of case conferences, and contributed not only to the method of understanding clients, but also to the education of the professional staff. The influence had been only rarely felt before the war; but after 1918 it became essential for anyone practicing in the field of social casework to understand the dynamic functions of the emotions. It became apparent that it is not only men in the armed services who are made or broken by their emotional tolerance to stresses and frustrations, but that the behavior of the ordinary person can be better understood if we know how he meets environmental factors than if we limit our study to the nature of the environmental factors themselves.

It was fortunate for the existence of social casework that,

when psychiatry suddenly focused on the importance of the emotions in shaping personality, casework was already practicing in the field of human behavior, and had developed a valid method of understanding its problems. At once there was apparent the close interrelation between the method of evaluating social data as developed by the caseworker and the psychiatrist's method of defining the dynamics of the mentally ill person. Each was dealing with persons in trouble, and each had developed a method designed to understand more clearly the nature of the trouble and how the person might be enabled to overcome it. Even their methods of treatment followed a roughly similar philosophy. It is not what is done for or to the applicant which is significant, but what the applicant alone is enabled to do for himself that really matters. But back of the psychiatrist's technique were long years of experimentation and research in its mastery. Social casework as a distinct art was new; its practitioners had not been subject to so vigorous an educational discipline as had the psychiatrists; they did not even have an accepted vocabulary with which to express their concepts. The social caseworker did have, however, according to Mary Richmond (1917), "skill in discovering the social relationships by which a given personality had been shaped; . . . ability to get at the central core of difficulty in these relationships; and . . . power to use the direct action of mind upon mind in their adjustment."

Skill in mastering the method of social casework is acquired by practice under competent supervision and by classroom discussion of case records. Porter R. Lee pointed very clearly (1920) to the kind of record it would be necessary to have to develop facility in handling the problems of human adjustment with which the caseworker deals. Mary Richmond, in the first (unpublished) bulletins of the charity organization department

of the Russell Sage Foundation in the first decade of the century, printed case records, and then circulated discussions by different persons and groups based on the records.

Case records of actual situations, edited for teaching purposes, have furnished an all but exclusive method of teaching social casework, both to the employee receiving in-service training and to the student at a school. Yet the conditions laid down by Lee as to what constitutes a teaching record have not been met. Records have given a statement of the situation, the steps have been carefully outlined, and the results honestly reported. For teaching purposes, the reason why each step was taken should be recorded, with some discussion of alternative possibilities and why they were rejected. The psychiatric social record, following the professional tradition of medicine and psychiatry, does that. As a contribution by the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston, Dr. William Healy, in 1920, arranged for the publication of annotated records of twenty children who appeared before the juvenile court in Boston. The Commonwealth Fund publication, *Three Problem Children* (New York, 1926), similarly described the actions that were taken, the reasons for taking them, and why alternative possibilities were rejected.

The current practice of teaching from bare case records limits the teaching possibilities to the competence of the instructor, not to the potential teaching value of the situation described in the record. When the same supervisor or same teacher uses a number of records, the apprentice or the student learns merely what one person conceives to be the reasons for the various processes used. Until casework is taught by a discussion of the reasons for adopting certain methods given by the very caseworkers who made the decisions in their repeated handling of their problems, use of the skill is likely to become

a cult, not a profession; the reflection of the point of view of a leader, not the synthesis of all the best thinking in the field.

The other basic method of teaching in the area of human relations, the case conference, is not discussed in the *Proceedings*. The case conference as a device to secure mutual understanding and co-operation between agencies is mentioned, but although it was probably a method used by all the careful case-working agencies before the advent of the school, it fell into disuse with the coming of the professional staff. Nevertheless, for professional purposes the case conference is even more vital than carefully annotated case records. It deals with current situations and is shared by the actual practitioners themselves.

The first case committees were composed of lay and professional members, with laymen taking the leadership. Now that the layman has stepped into the wings, there is a feeling among social caseworkers that it would be a denial of professional competency to rely on lay opinion, even in the give-and-take discussion of a conference. Whatever may be the merits of such a judgment—and it has a dubious side—the professional caseworker has not himself created any substitute on a professional level which would bring together, routinely, those engaged in the difficult and subtle task of understanding human beings; discussing cases as they arise; and subjecting their decisions to the criticism of their peers. (Exception must be made in behalf of the psychiatric social worker, who uses the medical terminology for "staffing a case.")

To be of influence wider than that of the group participating in the symposium, such discussion should be recorded and available to all social workers. The probabilities are all against the assumption that such a natural method of improving one's practice in the art of helping might be extinct. It is more likely that under one auspice or another, by staff meetings in agencies, or by case conferences called by councils of social agencies, or

by case conferences called by national bodies such as the Child Welfare League of America, or the Family Service Association of America, social caseworkers would be constantly maturing their grasp of their problems and improving their practice by use of the method of the conference. Seldom, however, would their conclusions be published or the results of this work become known, except by word of mouth. If this hypothesis is at all in accord with fact, to that extent the development of the method of social casework is still in the preliterate stage.

20 · THE COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

*O*NE OF THE causes that brought about the charity organization movement was the need to create some sort of order in the many unrelated public and private agencies dealing with the poor. In pursuit of this aim, the general idea of organization was broken down into several parts, one of which was to co-ordinate the task of raising money by social agencies, which was tried early in Liverpool, England, in 1869, and taken over in Denver in 1889.¹ This phase of coöperation, however, did not make any progress in America until money raising was put on an independent footing in Cleveland in 1913. Another means adopted by the early societies was that of joint registration, whereby societies might avoid duplicating the efforts of other agencies. Use of this device had a steady growth in the more progressive societies, and it was retained as one of their primary functions until taken over by the council of social agencies. Another novel feature was that of endorsement of charities. It is not known how widely this function was incorporated into the activities of the early societies, but in the larger cities, such as New York, Boston, and Chicago, as well as London, it became an important service, and in many of the smaller cities, the contributors to the local charity organization society look to it to advise them on their charitable gifts. And so the situation remained, till the councils of social agencies or the community chests took over the function of endorsement.

¹ See Chapter 21.

These various supplementary functions of "organizing" the charities of a community might be flattering to the leaders of the charity organization society, but the duties not only added a heterogeneity of tasks, they also imposed a serious handicap on the original objective of the society, planning for individual families. For, being a social agency, with a specific charitable function, the society could not without bad grace set itself up also as a commentator and critic of its peers. Other agencies did not relish being criticized by an authority in whose selection they had no choice, and in the framing of whose judgments they had no share. It was an arbitrary assumption of superiority—to some extent pushed upon it—on the part of the charity organization society that fatally handicapped its substantial success.

Credit for finding a solution should probably be given to Francis H. McLean, associate director of the charity organization department of the Russell Sage Foundation, for his suggestion that the two functions be separated: the charity organization should concentrate on its services to families; and to set standards, there should be a new organization, to be called a "central council of social agencies," composed of representatives of social agencies that wished to unite in a common project of establishing and improving standards, thereby taking the ungracious and impractical responsibility of setting standards away from a single agency, and placing it upon the entire group. This was, obviously, the only pragmatic method of doing the job, but its suggestion was evidence of the democratic faith of McLean in the integrity of the individual agencies.

The structure of the Charity Organization Society of New York, chartered by the New York Assembly in 1882, provided for an over-all governing body called a "council," composed of representatives of the leading charitable agencies of that city. Within such a pattern it was expected that the agencies would

work together and mutually agree on procedures for improvement. However, the device produced but little effect upon the relationships among the city's agencies. McLean's project differed from that of the Charity Organization Society of New York in two important respects: it would create a new agency whose only function was that of improving standards of work; and its membership would be open to any agency that could qualify.

In 1908, in connection with the establishment of the Associated Charities of Pittsburgh, this new form of agency was adopted, thus separating the original functions of the charity organization society into two parts. Thus the agency was set free to perfect its services, but in its initial stages the new procedure placed upon all member agencies the so-called "organizing" function, through a mutually controlled council. Pittsburgh was probably not the place where the first council of social agencies was planned. Rochester, New York, seems to have had one somewhat earlier than Pittsburgh, and Elmira seems to have developed even earlier a plan whereby social agencies effected a coöperative device to promote coördination of effort. Pittsburgh's example, however, served to set the standard for council organization and function, but neither the beginnings in Pittsburgh nor in these other two cities finds any mention in the *Proceedings of the Conference*.

The program of a council of social agencies, like the services of a secretary of a state board of charities, is limited only by the imagination and leadership of its management. McLean cited (1921) thirteen different functions of councils actually in operation, such as passing on new projects, reorganization of old agencies, abandonment or combination of existing agencies, improvement in relationship between agencies, advice to agencies on publicity, and advancement of standards. Since progress, if it is to be made in these projects, depends upon

arriving at a common agreement, it required much time spent in conferences and a willingness of board and of leading staff members to give time and effort in that way rather than in the direct promotion of the work of the individual agency, and so the movement made slow headway.

Council financing has always been bothersome. A council should be staffed by persons whose judgment is respected; and that means high salaries. Most communities were unable properly to finance their operating agencies, and money to finance an efficient council, which by definition performed no direct services, was all but impossible to obtain.

As matters stood, McLean suggested that the Associated Charities of Pittsburgh lend its general secretary to act as executive of the Council of Social Agencies. The Chamber of Commerce of St. Louis and the Civic and Commerce Association in Minneapolis furnished executive service for their councils. In the larger cities, such as New York, it was possible to secure ample funds for research from foundations, a very important aspect of any council's activity as it settled down to its work. Even in New York, however, the late William Hodson, when he was director of the Welfare Council, declared that getting more money for the operating budget was an all but impossible task.

In the first years after their organization, therefore, the growth of councils was slow and uncertain. It is a fair query whether the movement would have lived in any but the largest cities if it had not been for the advent of federated financing which created the necessity for such a coöperative method of determining standards on which to distribute the federated fund. The promoters of joint financing believed that their duty to contributors to insure a just allocation among the different agencies of the funds so raised was of equal importance to money raising itself. Therefore, the budget committee found

itself in need of the best available advice, if distribution was not to deteriorate into mere logrolling; and while there was not unanimity at first on the use of this representative body from the social agencies for determining how to handle the problem of distribution, the council has proven itself the best source of information to the budget committee and, in many places, the best means of appointing the committee.

Under this close association between the community chest, the organization responsible for raising the community's funds for social work, and the council of social agencies representing such work, the question of financing the council has been as satisfactorily solved as possible, within the framework of the times. In its need for valid advice, the chest must depend upon a body representing the specialists in the field. More adequate financing by the chest has given the council a certain freedom to develop its own work, to improve the standards and efficiency of its own members. Thus the chest, in turn, makes its appeals for funds with greater assurance that the work of the agencies is well and truly done, an assurance not possible on any other basis of judgment. Councils have not been limited, however, to the interests of agencies participating in chest financing; they have come to include the planning of the social resource activities of the entire community (William Hodson, *Proceedings*, 1929; A. Wayne McMillen, *Proceedings*, 1932), including public and private, sectarian and nonsectarian agencies. Development of any one agency when undertaken by the council of social agencies is coming to be evaluated in the light of the needs of the entire community and its resources rather than primarily with respect to the agency's own fate (Lyman Ford, *Proceedings*, 1944).

So far, councils have been largely dominated by private social agencies, but there is some thought that public rather than the private agencies should take the lead in community plan-

ning (A. Wayne McMillen, *Proceedings*, 1932). This is roughly parallel to the principle of the English Local Government Act of 1929, which provides for public assistance committees in each county, with broad supervisory powers over local authorities in the field of health, assistance, and education. In this country it is quite clear that the very important section of the social services performed under public auspices is but weakly represented in the social planning of our councils of social agencies. It may be that the brilliant but ill-fated Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City (organized in 1910), which attempted much the same sort of task as the English public assistance for counties, will set the pattern for a later development when public agencies will take the lead (Leroy A. Halbert, *Proceedings*, 1913).

In the brief time that councils have been in existence, entirely new values have come into social work. Some of these—especially in budgeting, accounting, and methods of raising money—have come about through the influence of the chest. But the ideal of charity organization is in process of accomplishment to bring the operations and development of the social services into close relationship with each other; and to make it possible for the most efficient and humane methods to permeate all operating agencies—an impossible objective for a single society to reach.

Still, it would be flying in the face of facts to say that the council has won everyone to its cause. Its method of arriving at judgments through conferences shared by the forces concerned is too slow and sometimes too timid to suit those impatient for decisive results; nor have all agencies appreciated the strength of coöperative effort. Some agencies, strong ones, are quite content with their own standards and skill in leadership. Some weak societies fear the loss of their identity in the process of sharing with others the determination of their plans. Neverthe-

less, none, the independently strong agency or the defensively weak one, can ignore the council. It represents, through its official structure, the agencies of a community; and the impact of its judgments is ceaselessly exerted over an area that is approximating the socially conscious life of the community. In its hands lies most of the future of social work under private auspices, and it will be a significant influence on social work in the public services.

21 · THE COMMUNITY CHEST

PROBABLY the most characteristic development of social work in this country is the plan of joint financing of social agencies, known as the "community chest." Denver had the credit for having started such a movement in this country when, in 1888, fifteen or sixteen relief-giving societies united their appeals for funds and named the joint project the Charity Organization Society (Mrs. A. Jacobs, *Proceedings*, 1892; Izetta George, *Proceedings*, 1894). Before Denver had launched its plan, however, Liverpool had made an experiment in joint collection of contributions, but it bore only a faint resemblance to the later American community chest. In 1869 a clergyman in Liverpool, noting that a relatively small group of contributors was giving the larger part of the money necessary to finance the private agencies, persuaded each giver to combine all his gifts in one check and deposit it in one of the local banks, which would then distribute the total in accordance with the wishes of each donor. This plan was no more than a time-saving method of collection and distribution useful to the givers. It was never adopted at any time by the charity organization movement in England and was not a part of the program of that movement when it came to this country.

The Denver experiment never assumed responsibility for raising all the money needed by its constituent members, and, consequently, it could not promise its donors immunity from further solicitation in behalf of its member agencies. A half-way measure, it tended to suffer from the defects of joint solici-

tation without capitalizing its benefits. As the years passed by, the member agencies found it possible to obtain from sources other than the joint fund an ever increasing portion of the money they needed. Thus by 1905 the amount independently raised by member agencies in Denver exceeded the amount granted by the joint fund, and the fund president seriously questioned whether the plan had not lost its original usefulness.

By 1900 the Chamber of Commerce of Cleveland had organized a Committee on Benevolent Institutions which did for Cleveland what the "organizing" function of the charity organization movement set out to do, for it acted as an endorsing body on social organizations. In the process of endorsement, the committee attempted to evaluate the work of agencies in the light of their competency in their chosen field; their co-operation with other agencies; the activity of boards of administration; methods of collecting and accounting for money; and the availability of financial records to inspection by the committee. According to the report of its secretary, endorsement by the committee at the beginning of its activities was of little value to the agencies endorsed, but "after years of education . . . the community has come . . . to rely almost universally upon the Committee's [judgment]" (Howard Strong, *Proceedings*, 1910). From this supervision of the way in which agencies collected and accounted for their money, it was only a step before the agencies themselves questioned the adequacy of the current method of raising money. The committee responded to this overture by proposing a plan for joint financing of all agencies through an appeal sponsored by a board of thirty created for the purpose, ten to be chosen by the agencies themselves, ten by the givers, and ten by the Chamber of Commerce. Although proposed early in 1910, it was March, 1913, before the Cleveland Federation was launched. It was reported (Edward M. Williams, *Proceedings*, 1913) that old subscribers

to agency funds had increased their gifts by 57 percent, and more than ten thousand new subscribers had been secured.

The Cleveland experiment was early followed by other cities, of which Cincinnati probably offered the most interesting variant. In Cleveland the movement was wholly lay; none of the professional social workers was on the board of the Federation. In Cincinnati the initiation for joint financing came from the professional workers and was promoted by the Council of Social Agencies. However, the plan was started tentatively and was joined only by agencies wishing to participate.¹ Cincinnati also established budgetary control, a precaution which Cleveland had failed to adopt. In many ways, these two early projects were similar: the preparation of a total budget covering the anticipated needs of member agencies; the pledge on the part of member agencies that they would not solicit money from anybody who contributed to the federated fund; and the use of an unprecedented number of volunteers to solicit money from citizens in behalf of the agencies in the federation.

The first World War profoundly influenced the chest movement. Newton D. Baker, President Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of War, had been mayor of Cleveland at the time of the launching of the Cleveland Federation. When the United States entered the war, a number of national agencies, such as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the American Library Association, the Salvation Army, and some of the national organizations for foreign relief made independent appeals for war relief or service. At the local level it caused much confusion to receive so many national appeals regarding whose validity and relative merits most communities were ignorant. In 1918, the second year of our participation

¹ William J. Norton, *The Coöperative Movement in Social Work* (New York: Macmillan, 1927).

in the war, Secretary Baker induced seven national agencies to join a United War Activities Fund, to establish a joint national budget, and to assign local quotas to be raised locally by war chests. Although the period set for raising the money was the week of Thanksgiving, and the Armistice was signed on November 11, the war chests throughout the country were a tremendous success, both in amounts raised and in numbers of contributors. It is supposed that more than three hundred communities organized war chests, in contrast with the less than twenty cities which had adopted federated giving by 1916. Some of the new war chests absorbed the budgets of the peace-time agencies; most of them did not. But the experience of donors in combining all of one individual's contributions in one pledge exerted a powerful influence on the chest movement; and although most of the war chests went out of existence with the end of the war, the development of the chests kept on at an accelerated pace, until at the present the principle of the chest has been more widely adopted than almost any movement in social work.

Solicitation and distribution of welfare activity funds during the second World War repeated the experience of the first World War with an advantage: by 1941 federated solicitation had been adopted in most American cities, and the war chests consequently had a wider basis of experience and a more popular acceptance on which to capitalize. War, or any calamity, evokes a response for the relief of its victims out of all proportion to any other appeal, and the great outbursts of generous gifts, through the war chests and through the American National Red Cross, can be explained for the most part by the dramatic appeal of the incalculable suffering of war. It is, however, pertinent—and not depreciative—to point out another reason for this great outburst of giving to the war chests, especially by the wealthy. The Hollis Amendment to the Income

Tax Law was passed about this time, permitting the deduction for taxing purposes of 15 percent of one's otherwise taxable income; and with surtaxes rising to 60 percent of income in the highest brackets in the first World War, and to 90 percent in the second World War, gifts might represent very little actual money to the giver.

Some of the representatives of the older and stronger social services did not look with favor upon the chest movement, which caused both its advocates and critics to define their reasons. It was said (William J. Norton, *Proceedings*, 1917) by its supporters that the ways of agencies were chaotic and unbusinesslike; that the cost of collection of their money was wasteful; and that the agencies were losing out in the race between expanding needs and the income possible under the appeal of the individual agency (Edward M. Williams, *Proceedings*, 1913). It was also claimed that larger total sums could be secured by the method of joint solicitation; that more contributors could be secured and a valid basis could be established for distributing the total gifts with the interests of the whole community in mind.

The opposition, much of which did not get into the *Proceedings*, centered around three fears. Foremost was the fear of loss of the agency's autonomy. W. Frank Persons, of the New York Charity Organization Society, said (1910) that the chest plan was equivalent to putting the individual agencies in the hands of a receiver, i.e., the authority of the chest being responsible for the allocation of its funds. The second point made was that the plan would place the fate of social work in the hands of financial interests, whose major concerns would be to keep down costs and suppress troublesome movements. And the third objection was that it would promote mediocrity (Fred R. Johnson, *Proceedings*, 1917) by a process of leveling down to the average standard.

In the perspective of three decades of experience, it is clear that the chest movement came in because those on whom rested the responsibility for raising substantial sums for individual agencies became confused by the increasing number of agencies which laid claim to their efforts; and they finally declared that they would continue to spend their energies only on condition that all requests be united into one. Another factor leading to the same end was the rapid and bewildering increase in the number of agencies, which left the potential giver confused and frustrated. In other words, the task of raising money to finance private social work had outgrown its early methods, in all but the largest cities, and the chest offered the only available solution. Many social workers of those days (the second and third decades of this century) did not welcome the chest; but they accepted it as the way out of a difficult situation.

The chest has tapped new sources of contributions, especially in the phenomenally successful industrial field. In the picture it presents to the potential contributor its inclusion of the community's need makes a valid claim at once upon the national corporation and upon the individual workingman. This the individual social agency never could have done. The ratio of givers to the increase of the total amounts secured raises the question whether the chest has been as successful in obtaining—or even in retaining—the gifts of the larger contributors as it has in interesting the smaller ones.

In the comparison of time—and money—costs of fund raising before and after the chest was established as the money-raising organization for social work, proponents of the chest system have arrived at results that are not quite valid. Even assuming that some agencies spent a large share of their income in getting it, and that the chest reduced that expense materially, a high cost of securing gifts was not universal. Some agencies, the ones that had learned their task the best, spent less than one

percent of their income in this manner, by building up a list of continuing contributors—a device that was not patented!

The fear that social work would be dominated by financial interests is, after all, not absent from the independent agency. A few chest agencies have suffered from such influences. No one knows how many independently supported agencies have also suffered; but it is a fair inference that the coercion that can be exercised through a complex agency such as the chest is less than can be exerted by the board of an independent agency.

The great contribution of the chest movement has been through its function of distribution. By establishing budgetary control, it required each agency to budget its expenses, a practice that almost none of them had adopted before the coming of the chest. This meant the keeping of a system of accounts on which the chest was able to base its assurance to givers that all money was honestly spent and accounted for. Distribution went ever farther than that: "Money raising involves budgeting. Budgeting involves decisions as to program, which soon reveal themselves as being without any sound basis unless some method is devised for looking at the individual agency . . . in relation to the whole community position" (Lyman S. Ford, *Proceedings*, 1944). This probably is placing the agency in receivership, as W. Frank Persons suggested, but does not all co-operative effort involve some surrender of sovereignty?

There is still dispute as to whether the council, on which the budget committee depends for guidance, should be a member of the chest, or independent of it. In the early days there was wide variation of structure. Cincinnati organized the joint financing scheme, at first as a function of the council, but later it created the chest, which absorbed the council. In Cleveland there was no council on the occasion of the formation of the Cleveland Federation; and the Committee on Benevolent Institutions of the Chamber of Commerce performed that func-

tion for the Cleveland agencies. The consensus among council people and, to a less extent, among chest personnel is that the council should be independent of the chest if it is really to consider matters of moment to all the social work of a city, and not to confine its interests principally to the welfare of the private agencies in the chest. Various devices whereby the chest may receive the advantage of the knowledge of social work have been developed, but any simple means providing for a comity of services between the two has been found to work satisfactorily, even to the point of the chest's accepting from the council the nominations of a certain percentage of the members of its budget committee.

22 • PUBLIC RELIEF BECOMES PUBLIC WELFARE

*A*MOS W. BUTLER (1860-1937) was ornithologist for the state of Indiana when in 1897 he became secretary of the State Board of Charities. In this capacity he served the state for twenty-six years. He was president of the National Conference in 1908, vice-president of the International Prison Congress during its meetings of 1925 and 1930, and founder of the International Committee on Mental Hygiene in 1930. Butler was the last outstanding personality to guide the destiny of a state administrative body whose authority was limited to supervision. During his long administration, the authority of state boards gradually changed from the primarily supervisory to the primarily administrative, with the supervisory function receiving decreasing emphasis and, in so far as it affected private agencies, meeting increasing resistance.

The achievement for which Butler will be primarily remembered was his success in changing the politically dominated handling of outdoor relief by the thousands of township trustees to a well-organized and carefully supervised distribution of assistance to the needy comparable with the method used by the private urban charity organizations. He demonstrated what men like Wines, Sanborn, and many others had claimed: it is not inherently impossible to conduct public outdoor relief in a satisfactory manner, given the necessary personnel and the guiding philosophy that are required.

In 1903, in a brief discussion following papers on public and

private assistance, Butler gave the first report of the method used in Indiana to reform local administration of poor relief. He credited the State Board of Commerce with initiating the steps that brought about the reformation which resulted in "Indiana . . . [applying] the principles of charity organization to the whole state." In 1915 he gave a more complete account of the situation preceding the reform, and of measures taken to bring it about. Previous to 1895 local township trustees granted relief upon their own authority and received reimbursement from the county commissioners. The latter had no authority to control these expenditures. In 1895 a law was passed by which township trustees or overseers of the poor were required to keep "full records of applicants' aid, of the relief spent for applicants and to send copies of such records to the office of the State Board." These reports showed that for 1895, the trustees had spent \$630,000, distributed to about thirty thousand persons. The board published these figures, and the next legislature (1897) charged the cost of relief to the town supplying the money, and so eliminated the irresponsible manner of giving relief whereby one authority granted it, and received reimbursement on sight from another authority. In 1899 the legislature required full investigation of each case, and coöperation with existing agencies was made mandatory, as was also the requirement of developing any natural resources possessed by the client.

These laws were codified in 1901, and the plan put Indiana in the lead in the administration of public outdoor relief. The actual results in money were striking: from \$630,000 spent in 1895, the expenses of public assistance dropped to \$355,000 in 1896, and to \$210,000 in 1900, with an average annual cost from 1896 to 1914 of about \$284,000. The average number of persons who were receiving relief was 32,627.

By modern standards of public assistance, an examination of

these figures shows that neither the number receiving relief (a little over one percent of a population of 2,250,000), nor the amount received per capita per year (\$30 in 1895 and \$10 in 1914) was excessive; in fact, the number on relief was small, and the amount granted was niggardly. The significant features of the demonstration were that the philosophy of charity organization could be as well applied to public outdoor relief throughout a state as in an urban center and that this statewide reform could be effected without any basic change in the character of the board's authority. Administration of public outdoor relief remained a local responsibility.

When search is made for the source of knowledge that made possible this extraordinary reform, one is left with conjecture only. Oscar C. McCulloch had been dead six years when Butler was appointed secretary of the state board. It may be that his influence still lived in the theory of charity, since the reform was secured largely by a process of administrative vigor. On Butler's board were two men who were prominent in the Conference. One was Timothy Nicholson, a Quaker with strong philanthropic interests, who was president of the National Conference in 1901; a publisher of books by occupation, he was called the "Nestor of American publishers" when he died in 1924. The other was Demarcus C. Brown, a classical scholar, state librarian, and a translator of Lucian. And the reform was carried through, patiently but with striking ability, by a zoölogist who was a specialist in birds! The net gathering in the early leaders for the social services was widely cast.

The Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City was organized in 1910 with Leroy A. Halbert as its executive secretary and with a membership of liberal and forward-looking citizens who conceived the idea of such a board and secured passage of the enabling act by the City Council. William Volker (1859-1947), the ruling spirit on the board, was born in Germany, came to

this country at the age of twelve, and began an unusually successful business career in Kansas City, eleven years later. He unquestionably contributed the liberal philosophy combined with an unyielding belief in the government's capacity to serve which characterized the political faith of so many Germans who had come to America because the Germany of Bismarck had become intolerable. The guiding theory back of the board's organization was that dependency and delinquency are caused by economic conditions and not by the moral weakness of the poor and criminal (Leroy A. Halbert, *Proceedings*, 1913); and that therefore government should concern itself with those factors which produce such evils: housing, hours and conditions of labor, and the environment in which youth receives its recreation. In its original charter, the board was "given broad powers to devise and execute plans to fulfill the duties of the city toward all the poor, the delinquent, the unemployed, the deserted and unfortunate classes, and to supervise the private agencies which solicited money from the public . . ." (Halbert, *Proceedings*, 1918). In putting these powers into operation, the board concerned itself with the usual methods of care or amelioration of the lot of those who could not help themselves, establishing a legal aid bureau, an employment bureau, and a loan agency. While it did not enter the field of outdoor relief or of child welfare, it did attempt to weave into the municipal pattern the activities of the private agencies concerned with such services.

Halbert, like most successful leaders, was a pragmatist, and although he believed that the function of outdoor relief was one which the community as a whole, through its elected officers, should handle, he was content, temporarily, to let it rest with the well-organized and strongly entrenched private agencies. Moreover, he believed that since "the causes of de-

pendency are social . . . relief . . . should not . . . reflect on the character of its beneficiaries."

Halbert gathered about him a group of able young men to head the various activities of the board, some of whom, such as Charles C. Stillman, afterward head of the School of Social Service Administration at Ohio State University, became leading figures in the developing field of social work. The powers of the board were not restricted by later legislation; indeed, they were even increased (Halbert, *Proceedings*, 1918). However, opposition to the vigor of law enforcement in factory and tenement house inspection, and probably to other activities of the board, such as supervision of commercial recreation, created enemies which even the influence of the prominent members of the board could not neutralize with the City Council. The latter progressively cut the board's appropriation so that by 1919 Halbert had left Kansas City, and the brilliant promise that the board held under Halbert became only a memory. In spite of this apparent failure, coining the name "board of public welfare" and recognizing the philosophy of governmental social services behind such a body marked a new era in the theory and practice of government as an instrument designed "to promote the general welfare." The Elizabethan Poor Law was doomed, and a broader, more generous concept of the state's responsibility for its citizens was supplanting it.

Gertrude Vaile, who demonstrated that municipal government could maintain an efficient and humane administration of charity, was a member of a prominent family of lawyers, one of her brothers becoming a Representative of Colorado in Congress. Encouraged by her family's interest in public affairs, Gertrude Vaile attended the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy in 1909, joined the staff of the Chicago United Charities in 1910, and spent two years in the stimulating West

Side district of that agency. The strong influence of Wines's faith in public welfare was still evident, not only in the Chicago Graduate School of Social Service Administration, but also in the West Side district. Consequently, when Mayor Robert W. Speer, the reform mayor of Denver, asked her to serve on the Board of Charities and Correction, Gertrude Vaile gave up her professional work to assist in guiding the policies of the social services of her native city. Within a year, she was appointed the executive of the board, charged with responsibility for administering its functions. The policies of the board were under the constant fire of politicians, who succeeded in defeating Mayor Speer; but his successor found the board so firmly entrenched that he thought it wiser to permit it—and Miss Vaile—to handle the affairs of public assistance and correction as it saw fit, and not as dictated by the politicians who had elected him. Again, at the next election, her position was in jeopardy, and again she and her board weathered the storm. When in 1917 she left to assume the position of director of civilian relief of the Mountain Division of the American Red Cross, the nonpolitical, honest, and humane administration of the public social services had won the approval of public opinion in Denver, and Gertrude Vaile's successors have continued the policy she inaugurated.

Gertrude Vaile's philosophy was, like Halbert's, that poverty is largely a matter of the economic setting, for which society, not the individual, is responsible (1915). Consequently, the state, as the organized representative of society, should assume responsibility for its treatment. The Denver experiment never went the length of attacking many of the factors in society that so unfavorably affect the lives of persons with low incomes. What Gertrude Vaile did was to demonstrate in the state of Colorado that the methods found successful by charity organization in the private society could be applied to the pub-

lic municipal agency, as Butler demonstrated in Indiana. She gathered about the project a board of influential men and women who first learned how honest administration could be organized, and then defended it against the attacks of the spoilsman.

When the enemies of the board in Denver made an effort to compel Miss Vaile to make public the confidential material accumulated in the clients' records, which would have driven every self-respecting client away, Miss Vaile secured legal advice that the law required publicity only for certain routine data, which she meticulously supplied. As for the confidential records of the clients, not only did the law not compel her to disclose their contents, but she found that she would be rendering herself liable if she did so.

She was able to gather volunteers to serve the Denver public agency quite as successfully as she had seen it done in Chicago. She was also able to establish case conferences, at which the volunteers and representatives of other social agencies met to discuss the problems presented by clients of the public agency and the possible marshaling of available medical, educational, and vocational resources for their care.

The significance of the work in Denver lay in the fact that it was a successful demonstration at the beginning of a trend in a situation which had known only the run-of-the-mill sort of political administration. Moreover, it was dramatic and compelling enough to rivet attention on the change. So, with the new day ushered in by the heavy public commitments of the first World War, followed by the great depression and its insistent demands on wise public welfare administration, Denver established a bench mark that did not need to be fixed anew in the hurry and confusion of a crisis.

23 • CHILDREN'S CODES

THE WIDESPREAD and diverse interest in children had led to the establishment of many organizations equipped to provide for their care or protection. These took the form of institutions for delinquents, defectives, handicapped, and, too often, dependent children; and every important urban center had agencies for furnishing services to these same classes of children. When the juvenile court entered the scene, some of its legal personnel were astonished at the chaotic aggregation of child welfare agencies. "Some are now antiquated, some are meaningless, many, excellent in themselves, are to the general mass, unrelated and conflicting." In these words, Judge George S. Addams, of the Juvenile Court of Cleveland, described the situation that he found in 1910. Succinctly, he characterized the uncertainty facing the bench in its use of these "unrelated and conflicting" child welfare resources. To meet the challenge, he suggested that all child welfare workers in a state get together to codify the laws in their field. "If there is a code of evidence and of commercial paper and of Insurance Laws, why not a Children's Code?"—these were the words of a lawyer, accustomed to see order and dependability in the materials with which he dealt, who, as a juvenile judge, saw only disorder and nondependability in the material with which as a juvenile judge he was concerned. Judge Addams went on to say:

A Judge can commit [a child] to a State institution . . . but . . . cannot compel the institution to receive it. If suffering from two defects . . . the probabilities are no institution will receive it.

. . . Children can quit school at fourteen if they can read, but . . . cannot work until sixteen. . . . All our public institutions are footballs of politics, and a woman cannot superintend even an industrial school for girls.

Rarely had a suggestion received such a prompt and enthusiastic response. The next Ohio legislature authorized the governor to appoint a commission to frame a children's code. By the middle of the summer of 1912 it had completed its report, and the legislature of 1913, after making several amendments, adopted the first children's code in the United States. Without in any manner detracting from the credit due Judge Addams for the creative imagination which suggested the way out of the morass of child welfare legislation, it should be mentioned that the hard, detailed work was probably performed by the secretary of the State Board of Charities, H. H. Shirer. His was undoubtedly the task, first, of persuading the legislature to authorize the governor of Ohio to appoint the commission, and then of safely guiding the report of the commission through the legislature. By 1930, twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia had appointed similar bodies to codify their laws relating to children.

Roger Baldwin, at that time secretary of the Civic League of St. Louis, but previously secretary of the Board of Children's Guardians of the same city, outlined in 1914 the scope of legislation that should be embraced by a children's code, which he said should be broader than the Ohio code, or the Children's Charter of England. Specifically, it should include:

- Eugenics: marriage laws; and the care of the defective
- Infant welfare: birth registration and compulsory reporting of abnormal births
- Provisions for neglected and delinquent children
- Protection of the unmarried mother and her child
- Supervision by court of adoption and placement of children

- A juvenile court in each county, with jurisdiction over adults in children's cases; dependent children
- Mothers' pensions and placement on a county basis, with provision for a state agency to assume responsibility for children whom the county fails to protect
- State supervision over all public and private institutions for care of children
- Probation work of the juvenile court and the placing of children by public or private agencies
- Education: compulsory school attendance law and an attendance officer in each school district
- Special schools for defective children
- A statewide school system, with state aid and state supervision

This catalogue of legislation—compiled by only one social worker, to be sure—brings out vividly, nevertheless, the wide range of legislation for the protection of children, the many state and local agencies concerned with child welfare administration, and, by implication, unless all the laws were drawn and administered as part of an inclusive child welfare program, how chaotic and bewildering either the laws or their execution might become.

The Committee on Children at the 1915 Conference, under the chairmanship of C. C. Carstens, general agent of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, analyzed in a series of three papers the need for comprehensive planning for children's services. The chairman laid the groundwork by outlining a possible pattern of public and private organization in the child welfare field. The salient feature was a board of children's guardians, under the state board of charities, with supervisory powers over all local public and private child welfare administrations. It was to be concerned specifically with mothers' aid; to assume custody of dependent children and properly place them; to assume guardianship, *ipso facto*, of all illegitimately born children; to license maternity

homes; and to maintain a reception home for children awaiting placement, or for children not suitable for adoption. He suggested that the local administrative body should be the county board of public welfare, patterned after the Kansas City board, performing the functions relative to public health, public assistance, child protection, probation, and recreation. (He included also in this list education, but it is possible that he meant educational supervision of classes for retarded pupils, and such social services of public education as attendance records and medical inspection.)

Mr. Carstens's second major suggestion was the organization in each county of a court of domestic relations, which should include in its functions the juvenile court and be properly staffed with competent probation officers. Such a court would have jurisdiction over cases of cruelty or neglect of children, arraignment of adults contributing to the delinquency of children, cases of nonsupport, desertion, or separation, custody of children in divorce, cases of heinous crimes against children, and of complaints by either spouse against the other. To such a court he would attach the juvenile court, so that there would be but one legal authority to deal with any case in which a child is involved. Having gained his experience in a private society, Mr. Carstens expressed his conviction that the major portion of the services to children should be assumed by public authorities, leaving to the private agencies areas of experimental work to be turned over to the public authority as soon as methods are established and public opinion is favorable.

In another paper, Dr. Edward N. Clopper, of the National Child Labor Committee, suggested (following the wording of the report of the White House Conference on Children) that there should be a children's charter, nationally conceived, covering services in behalf of children under the headings of "preserving life and health," "protection from want, abuse and

crime," and "education and recreation." He did not recommend that the charter contain rules or proposed statutes, but only principles to be observed in drafting laws in the individual state. He was not clear as to what groups should undertake the actual administration, since there were already in existence school and health authorities exercising child welfare functions which varied widely in their scope between states. Nor did he say who should draw up the children's charter, or be responsible for its promotion.

At this point, Julia C. Lathrop, chief of the United States Children's Bureau, described the efforts of the Children's Bureau to secure uniform legislation in specific fields, such as, for instance, registration of births. Her practical suggestion was that a movement be inaugurated for the creation of children's code commissions "to review existing legislation in each state and to make recommendations." She then suggested that representatives from such commissions should meet with members of the National Child Labor Committee, of the American Bar Association, of "this Conference," and of other national bodies, to discover "the common needs, and . . . the various legislative expedients by which they can be met."

Finally, in closing this first phase of the growth of the movement for a children's code in 1920, Hastings H. Hart, now director of the child helping division of the Russell Sage Foundation, listed the national agencies prepared to offer advisory service to state code commissions: the Division on Children of the National Conference, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Federal Children's Bureau. If he had made the list a year later, he would have added the Child Welfare League of America, which was organized late in 1920 with C. C. Carstens as executive. It proved to be a major factor in bringing order and standards into the child welfare field.

Outside of Mary Richmond's Conference paper in 1897 sug-

gesting a school for training social workers, no other paper was followed so quickly and so wholeheartedly as Judge Addams's idea of a children's code, by the whole field of social work. His contribution was the more remarkable, since he was primarily a lawyer; through his suggestion, taken from his own field, was found the formula that is gradually bringing some order into the child welfare field with its many separate but related parts.

The subject of the children's code was left alone after 1920, but not because it ceased to be a matter of vital interest. In fact, the movement is one that will continue indefinitely because of the need for the constant revision and codification of laws relating to children. Several such state commissions are probably in existence and at work in the current year of 1947. But the need was demonstrated, and the method fairly well worked out; and the United States Children's Bureau (now a function of the Federal Security Agency), together with the Child Welfare League of America, is equipped by long experience to furnish to any state code commission the national guidance necessary for wholesome functioning.

24 · CONCERN OF THE CONFERENCE WITH REFORM

IS IT TOO BOLD a paradox to say that, while the revolutions of 1688, 1775 and 1792 liberated man, the revolution of our day in the world's best progress has again enslaved him? ¹

The independence and unplanned, unregimented, freedom of action of its rich and powerful members is not the test of a free society. . . . [It] will be found in the scope of right and privilege preserved to, and possessed by, its weakest elements. . . .²

It was inevitable that a body such as the membership of the National Conference, whose paramount object was to search for the causes of human ills, should be concerned with the economic conditions of the age. Paine, the first one to be elected to the presidency from outside the membership of boards of charities, himself a successful businessman, placed responsibility for the economic suffering of society on the unrestrained pursuit of the profit motive, or, as he put it, because business is run on the principle of "charging all the traffic will bear." Eleven years later, Edward T. Devine, whose training was in theoretical economics, was more specific in his analysis. He followed the same theory, however, when he charged that back of each one of the evils is some group which profits by exploitation: "Housing reform would be easier than it is . . . if there were not strong pecuniary interests at stake . . ." Child labor would come to an end in a twelvemonth if there were no money to be

¹ Robert Treat Paine, in his presidential address at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1895.

² A. Delafield Smith, Assistant General Counsel of the Federal Security Agency, at the National Conference of Social Work, 1946.

made in the exploitation of child labor. He set it down (1906) as the duty of social work "to seek out and to strike effectively at those organized forces of evil, at those particular causes of dependence and intolerable living conditions which are beyond the control of individuals whom they injure and whom they too often destroy."

Paine described himself as a socialist in so far as he defined socialism to mean that "the forces of society shall unite, and delight to remove hard and unjust conditions, and give just opportunities of life to all men." No one else at the Conference identified himself definitely with any of the "proposed roads to freedom,"³ except the advocates of a single tax, who were represented in all their certainty at several sessions during this period. Paine himself scarcely assumed that his definition of socialism was orthodox. Pragmatism, not doctrinaire logic, was the philosophy of the Conference members interested in reform. Evils were to be understood and their sources uncovered and destroyed, if possible. While most of the first workers in the field were inclined to consider causes in terms of morals and personality, in less than a generation, a knowledge of environmental factors came to be generally recognized as essential to an understanding of social problems. Not only that, but there were a sufficient number of Conference members by 1896 to secure a special place for the subject on the program. Since 1910 programs on economic and social problems, together with discussions of means for understanding and treating them, have been a regular part of every Conference.

In 1912 Owen R. Lovejoy, as chairman of the Conference Committee on Standards of Living and Labor, submitted a report covering the position taken by progressive thinkers of the time which was practically identical with the economic and

³ Bertrand Russell, *The Proposed Roads to Freedom* (New York: Holt, 1919).

labor planks of the Bull Moose platform of the Progressive party on which Theodore Roosevelt was defeated in the fall of that year. Just what influence the report had in the shaping of the Bull Moose platform is not clear. Lovejoy at no time made claims to that effect. William Allen White, who treats the Bull Moose campaign very sympathetically and fully in his autobiography, makes no mention of any of its planks having been proposed by the Conference. But it is inconceivable that coincidence alone could have produced two such similar documents.

Paul U. Kellogg said on August 24, 1912, "the men and women . . . who drew up at Cleveland . . . a series of labor planks which they could stand for collectively, little thought that in less than two months their platform would be adopted bodily as the practical economic gospel of a new political party,"⁴ but he did not explain how the transfer was made. Specifically, the report "demanded" that a living wage for the workingman be secured by the establishment of minimum wage commissions in every state. It demanded that the working day be limited to eight hours and the working week to six days; that the safety and health of workingmen be safeguarded, and, furthermore, that compensation be provided for industrial accidents and disease; that the right to a decent home be not denied to the workingman; that sweatshops, as well as industries employing the labor of children, be abolished; and that the cost of old age assistance and unemployment relief be borne by compulsory insurance. According to Kellogg, this platform was not a flash in the pan, but had been labored over for three years. Nor was the Conference committee a rump committee. There were, of course, followers of the single tax on it (Dr. Alice Hamilton and Benjamin C. Marsh) who sub-

⁴ Paul U. Kellogg, "The Industrial Platform of the New Party," *Survey*, XXVIII (August 24, 1912), 668.

mitted an addendum advocating a tax levied on the value of land irrespective of improvements; but persons as diverse as Mrs. Raymond Robbins, John B. Andrews, Edward T. Devine, Lee K. Frankel, Pauline Goldmark, Mrs. Florence Kelley, V. Everit Macy, Walter Rauschenbush, and Msgr. John A. Ryan, among others, insured its representative character as speaking for the liberal social work of America.

During the next ten years, no such summary of economic objectives was discussed at the Conference. In 1914 Devine amplified his thesis that business is not competitive but exploitative. The next year, Professor Harry R. Seager, of Columbia University, summarized the advanced thinking on the treatment of employment. He explained regularization of industry, the dovetailing of industry, and smoothing the curves of consumer demand. He also discussed the use of public works and social insurance. The following year (1916), Isaac M. Rubinow appealed to social workers for a more intelligent and cordial backing of health insurance; and finally, in 1922, Lovejoy, as chairman of the Committee on Industrial and Economic Problems, sadly reviewed what had happened in the decade which had intervened since the comprehensive platform of 1912, and balanced gains and failures, with the weight falling on the negative side. He recognized that the first World War had badly upset the expectations based on the continuation of peace; and regretfully he saw an opportunity in the war and its aftermath for the resurgence of "our political leaders and lords of the market place."

There was, however, another side to the picture. Theodore Roosevelt was defeated; but Woodrow Wilson's election did not mean reaction. Though Democrat in name, Wilson's philosophy approximated that of Roosevelt, the Republican Bull Moose. The revision of the system of Federal taxation, by bringing about the graduated net income tax, furnished a basis

for a wide and effective control of "the lords of the market place," or, to use Theodore Roosevelt's phrase, the holders of "predatory wealth," more flexible and effective than any of the proposals in Lovejoy's program. It assumes that America's great capacity to produce what consumers need may be directed to the common good.

Specifically, workmen's compensation for industrial accidents was in the full tide of adoption by the different states when the Conference address was given by Lovejoy in 1912. Nine states had adopted workmen's compensation laws the previous year, and by 1920, forty-one states had enacted such a law, although in general the laws afforded imperfect coverage.⁵ Probably this sweeping reform was due less to such pronouncements as the Progressive party's platform of 1912 or the agitation of reformers than to the shocking revelations of neglect or injustice suffered by the injured in the mills of Pittsburgh disclosed by the Pittsburgh Survey of 1910.⁶

The recognition by workmen's compensation laws of industrial disease, which Lovejoy would have classed in the category of "accidents," has been long delayed, and stormy arguments have taken place in discussions of its coverage. In fact, it is today only partially recognized as compensable, and this in spite of the brilliant advocacy for its inclusion by Dr. Alice Hamilton, an international authority on the matter. The insurance provisions for old age and unemployment had to wait for the shock of the great depression of the 1930s and the Social Security Act of 1935 to become a reality.

The other items on Lovejoy's platform, such as the eight-hour day and the six-day week, have on the whole been taken up largely by labor unions. The United States Steel Corporation's final surrender in 1924 to an eight-hour day after a twelve-

⁵ See Chapter 27.

⁶ Crystal Eastman, *Work Accidents and the Law* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1910).

year battle was not due to organized labor, however. Up to that time the corporation had successfully resisted all efforts to organize its workers, but it submitted to the forces of public opinion and, possibly, to a conviction that it was good business to adopt the day-and-hour limitation.

Again, minimum wages did not secure legislative sanction until considerably after the period under review. The advance in wages to the point of insuring a decent standard of living was won, if at all, by the efforts of organized labor in its own restricted field. Provision for the safety of workers was achieved principally because it was more economical to the employer to prevent accidents than to pay the higher rates of insurance charged in the absence of safety devices; while the regulation of home work, or elimination of the sweatshop, again was brought about by local health and safety ordinances.

In regard to the remaining demand, which was for the outlawing of child labor, social workers suffered the most serious point-blank legal defeat in the entire history of reform, when the amendment to give the Congress power to regulate child labor failed to receive approval from the requisite number of states. But although social workers were defeated on the national front, and faced many discouraging delays and some defeats on the state front, the protection of children from the hazards of unregulated employment has made substantial progress toward its ultimate goal of securing to every child under sixteen the opportunity of education and recreation (Raymond G. Fuller, *Proceedings*, 1922).

During this period the discussions on housing were based upon the assumption that, given proper conditions, the housing needs of the lowest paid worker could be met, and that public housing subsidies were an unnecessary evil (Harlean James, *Proceedings*, 1921). As early as 1885, Alfred T. White, president of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, pointed out the evils

of overcrowded tenements, and described philanthropic projects in housing that rectified evils of bad housing and demonstrated "that Reform . . . [may] make possible a return of 5 percent on the investment." Harriet Fullmer, of the Visiting Nurses' Association of Chicago, in 1908, and Jacob Riis, of New York, in 1911 and 1919, argued that poor housing was expensive since it caused many of the ills with which the Conference was dealing. It was pointed out that unskilled workers were forced to live in unsanitary, cast-off dwellings (Bleeker Marquette, *Proceedings*, 1923). The Conference devoted a good deal of space to the discussion of the single tax as an economic measure to enable the workingman to rent or to purchase decent housing (1912, 1915, 1916, 1917).

The movement which stood in the foreground of social work, however, was the establishment of building codes that would avoid, in future construction, the evils disgracing the uncontrolled erection of the multiple dwelling—in other words, tenement house reform. New York State's code, applicable to cities of the first class, adopted in 1901, set the standard of desirable features in such legislation; and it has been widely followed. It limits the percentage of the lot that a building may occupy; provides for an open space in the rear of each building; requires windows in each room; and provides that there shall be a water supply, sewer connection, and separate toilet for each dwelling unit. However desirable—or even essential—may be these minimum standards for the construction of dwellings, they entail at least two consequences that have fatally injured their effectiveness in supplying housing for the lower income group. The demands of the code have increased the cost of new construction to the point where it is estimated that only those in the highest third of the income groups can afford to live in quarters that meet these standards.⁷ Even more dis-

⁷ Article on housing, *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1932), VII, 515.

heartening, the passage of a model tenement housing law at once places a premium upon the substandard houses that are in existence at the time of the passage of the tenement house code, and also postpones still further the disappearance of the ramshackle buildings. If the new dwelling could be rented as cheaply as the old and outlawed type, the unfortunate effect of the tenement house laws would not follow.

In spite of these facts, no speaker at the Conference before 1930 proposed a public subsidy for housing. Nor did the housing activities of the Federal Government during the first World War demonstrate much to the speakers at the Conference but that government-sponsored housing was uneconomic. Rarely was public housing advocated in the Conference papers. Rather it was something to be avoided (Harlean James, *Proceedings*, 1921). Even Lawrence Veiller, whose life was devoted to the reform of the evils of the overcrowded and unsanitary tenement, saw only an aggravation of housing evils in public housing.⁸

In 1912, that year which seemed to promise so much to progressive leaders, Warren D. Foster described a project of the Massachusetts Homestead Commission to purchase land, and to erect thereon houses to be sold or rented to workingmen. (The State Supreme Court, however, declared the plan to be unconstitutional, in an opinion given to the legislature at its request just as the law was about to be passed.) Foster was of the opinion that "this was the first admission by an American State . . . that [it] had the responsibility to provide for its citizens who could not properly house themselves." He further gave it as his opinion that, "perhaps negative regulation and passive encouragement" are all the state can do in the way of rectifying "housing conditions . . . [that] have long been a shame to the State."

⁸ Lawrence Veiller, *Housing Reform* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1910), Chapter 7.

The ills of excessive usury, whose charges ran to 360 percent and more a year, bore most heavily on the poorest, and Paine started the movement for making reasonably priced loans available by organizing the Remedial Loan Association of Boston. It made loans on pledges at one percent a month as early as 1886. This plan was followed in 1894 by the organization of the Provident Loan Association of New York. The importance of the field was recognized by the Russell Sage Foundation (established in 1909) in the establishment of its division on remedial loans, one of whose early directors was Leon Henderson. Under the stimulus of the Sage Foundation the growth of remedial loan societies was rapid. The societies formed an association, more or less under the guidance of the Russell Sage Foundation, with the primary object, so far as the Foundation was concerned, of protecting borrowers from the various forms of exploitation immemorially practiced by moneylenders (Arthur H. Ham, *Proceedings*, 1910).

The credit union, a more interesting, as well as possibly a sounder method of handling the business of small loans, was described by Pierre Jay (*Proceedings*, 1910); but of its future in the United States he was not so confident. In 1909 Massachusetts passed the first law in this country authorizing credit unions and placed them under the supervision of the state banking departments. By 1916, Arthur H. Ham, then director of the division of remedial loans of the Russell Sage Foundation, was able to give a necessarily sketchy account of successful advance of similar laws in several states of the Union.

In spite of state regulation of interest that can be charged for small loans, its various provisions for lending money have a very serious handicap. Sufficient to say, they protect the borrowers who can meet the legal conditions or who can borrow from a remedial loan association or a credit union. However, because of lack of collateral, or in the absence of any other

satisfactory security, there are people who are forced to run into debt, and they borrow in the "black market" which knows no controls. To assert that such people should not borrow is no answer, and no help at all to the partial protection offered by these devices.

The list of proposals advocated by Conference speakers for improvement in the lives of the lower economic groups is a long one. The need for such betterment was often shown, as, for instance, by Msgr. John Ryan in his statement (1907) that 60 percent of our nation's workingmen have an income inadequate to furnish their families with even a minimum standard of living. Perhaps the most radical suggestion, however, was made by Frank Tucker in his presidential address in 1913. He declared that if it is not possible for "private enterprise to furnish [transportation, heat, and light] . . . to the humblest homes . . . at prices that represent a reasonable return on the actual investment of capital . . . social justice demands public ownership." Frank Tucker was president of the Provident Loan Association of New York, and before that executive of the Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor of New York City.

25 · THE FIRST WORLD WAR

JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK drew up the Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance Law of 1917, and thus made history in this controversial field. It covered both the care of the family of the enlisted man and his protection from handicaps in civil life that might arise because of his military service. The reason leading to its formulation was the desire to avert the scandal of war pensions that had followed every American war. It was felt that could be accomplished by making provision for the foreseeable economic handicaps from which an enlisted man suffers, such as loss of earning power during his period in service; reduction of earning power through injury; deprivement of the family's income through the man's death and forfeiture of eligibility for the enlisted man's life insurance. In the first place, the basic wage of the enlisted man was raised from \$15 a month to \$33. The act provided that on condition of his making an allotment to his family of not less than \$15, the government would make an additional allowance to dependents of the serviceman varying in amount according to the degree of their relationship to him.

The injured serviceman, moreover, was furnished with medical care, vocational re-education and guidance, and a monetary compensation dependent upon the degree of his disability. In addition, the enlisted man was eligible to purchase term insurance at a very low cost; later this could be turned into regular life insurance issued by the government.

The act was the most liberal and comprehensive provision for the protection of servicemen that was ever offered to that date by any government. It was drawn up after careful study of the way in which other nations had made provision for their fighting men and it placed on government the responsibility for meeting the foreseeable costs to servicemen and their families rather than leave their need to the uncertain care of private benevolence. Judge Mack had a strong advisory committee assisting him, containing such outstanding persons from the social services as Julia C. Lathrop, of the Federal Children's Bureau, and Lee K. Frankel, second vice president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, who had been general manager of the United Hebrew Charities of New York City from 1899 to 1908.

The positive objectives of the act were accomplished: families of soldiers, sailors, and marines received some economic support while the war was in progress. Among low-income groups, notably rural families, the support was quite adequate and even placed some Southern Negro rural families upon a new and higher plane of living. Compensations under this act for disabilities and for death have been generous, and were liberalized in 1931 to include certain disabilities and deaths not resulting from military service. By 1942 the government was paying nearly three hundred million dollars annually in disability compensations to more than four hundred thousand ex-servicemen, and nearly sixty-five million dollars annually in death compensations to the dependents of nearly one hundred and twenty thousand deceased veterans.¹

While these comprehensive provisions for the care of the injured serviceman did prevent a movement for a general pension to all servicemen, such as had been granted after all pre-

¹ *Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1943*, pp. 170-71, Washington, D.C., 1944.

vious wars, they did not preclude the passage of bills granting a bonus to all returned men, both by the Federal Government and by most of the states, in addition.

Among the major scandals of the Harding-Coolidge Administration, however, were the corrupt practices of the Veterans' Bureau which was set up in 1921 to consolidate all governmental services to veterans. These irregularities showed up especially in the medical care of the disabled. Then, too, there was bribery in letting of contracts and choice of sites. The exposure finally sent the chief of the Veterans' Bureau, Colonel Charles R. Forbes, to the Atlanta Penitentiary in the fall of 1924.

The United States entered the first World War in April, 1917, but the Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance Act was not passed until six months later. In the meantime, the American National Red Cross had achieved the well-nigh impossible task of organizing every county in the nation and directing these local chapters to protect any dependents of servicemen suffering from want. This service, however, was on the basis of need, although the Red Cross interpreted "need" liberally. After the act was passed, and each family knew what it was entitled to receive, the Red Cross advanced the money to families that had not yet received their allotment and allowance (Eugene T. Lies, *Proceedings*, 1917). Since the Federal bureau handling the allotments and allowances had been set up six months after the war started, and since a signed authorization to deduct a portion of his pay had to be secured from a serviceman before any money could be sent to his family, most dependents had to wait months after the soldier was enlisted before they received the money due. Indeed, a few did not receive their checks from the government until after the Armistice; so that filling in the gap by the American Red Cross proved to be a heavy and relatively thankless task.

Incidental to this service, the Red Cross national headquarters relayed to each chapter the substance of any new legislation, administrative order, or judicial decision affecting the rights of the families of enlisted men, thus supplying promptly to the home folks much vital information on which their welfare depended.

In connection with its military service by which the Red Cross had a representative in each Army and Navy post branch of the armed services, the national office served as a medium of communication between the relatives in this country and the enlisted man, so that news of any emergency occurring at home could be communicated to the enlisted man, within bounds of military safety. Of all the services rendered by the Red Cross to the enlisted man and his family, perhaps none was more appreciated than this means of getting in touch with one's loved one, who was not only in the armed forces, but, in many instances, thousands of miles from home in a foreign country, his whereabouts hidden by the veil of military secrecy.

The Home Service Bureau of the Red Cross, as this service was called to distinguish it from the other activities of the division of civilian relief, was named by Mary Richmond, and it enlisted many social workers from the private agencies into the ranks of the American Red Cross. It created a special literature defining the duties of the Red Cross Home Service worker, and placed the rapidly accumulating factual information in convenient, loose-leaf handbooks.

The Home Service Bureau instituted training courses for chapter chairmen and their assistants (Joanna C. Colcord, *Proceedings*, 1917). These training courses ran usually from two to six weeks. They were held at some university or a school of social work, and were the means of developing a tolerably adequate staff for the more than three thousand chapters over the country.

Home Service, its rapidly instructed personnel, its handbook "hot off the griddle," and the supervision it received from divisional and national headquarters constituted the first introduction to modern social work for most localities, especially rural districts and small towns. Many saw in it the answer to the problem of how the rural region was to secure the benefits of the modern methods of dealing with social ills which are relatively as common in rural areas as in urban communities (Gertrude Vaile, *Proceedings*, 1918). On the other hand, Home Service units were stronger and more self-sufficient in urban centers than in other places, and Home Service had invented some new and valuable lines of service, such as communication between the home folks and the fighting front. Moreover, it had awakened many urban centers to an appreciation they had never enjoyed of the possibilities of vigorous, competently supervised social service as part of a national scheme.

In 1919 three papers were read by J. Byron Deacon, Margaret Byington, and Anna King on the future of Home Service in peacetime. It was officially stated that a Red Cross chapter wishing to continue Home Service on a civilian basis might do so, since the local chapters were largely autonomous. This was viewed by many persons as a statement of intent on the part of the Red Cross to enter the family welfare field on a national scale, and it drove off some of the early supporters and promoters of Home Service in the war years. Neither the fears of its critics nor the hopes of its promoters were realized; for the American Red Cross was preoccupied with wars and disasters, and looked askance at any development of professional social work.

No more interesting figure ever appeared in the orbit of social work than Douglas C. McMurtrie (1888-1944), who from 1912 to 1919 became an authority on treatment of the physically handicapped, and then, comet-like, disappeared

from social work to devote his tremendous energies to typography and its history. In the quarter of a century remaining after his work for the disabled, he must have written at least a book a year in the technical field of typography. But during the eight years that he spent in the care of disabled, he compiled a *Bibliography of the Education and Care of Crippled Children* (1913), and wrote *The Rehabilitation of the Disabled Soldier* (1918), and *The Disabled Soldier* (1919). In addition, he edited the *American Journal for the Care of Cripples* from 1912 to 1919; was president of the Association for Cripples from 1915 to 1919; and director of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men from 1917 to 1918.

The field of social work should learn something of why it draws to itself brilliant innovators in human relations, as well as why it sometimes fails to keep them. Was it, in the case of McMurtrie, the passive resistance of the medical profession which resented the intrusion of this lone layman, who probably said some unorthodox things about physical disabilities? Or was his abandonment of social work evidence of the unwillingness of the American Red Cross to pay the cost of courageous explorations in human nature?

From hearing McMurtrie at the National Conference in 1917 and from reading his writings, the impression is clear that he was a man of brilliant imagination and rare judgment as well as one possessed of profound faith in the human capacity to surmount handicaps, given wise guidance. His outstanding contribution was his insistence—possibly he was the first person in the field to point it out—that the emotional frustration suffered by a cripple is more serious than the physical one.

According to McMurtrie,² the first school for the training of the physically handicapped was established at Charleroi,

² American Academy of Political and Social Science, *Annals*, 1918, LXXX, 62.

Belgium, in 1908. Then none was established until the outbreak of the first World War, when both Germany and France set up elaborate equipment for salvaging the industrial skill of the injured. That was followed in this country very shortly after America entered the war, by a less extensive, but after all a steady development of facilities for the care of the serviceman who had been injured in line of duty, to save him from that dependence on the pity of his fellows which had been his lot after previous wars. The inclusion in the Soldiers' and Sailors' Insurance Act of the section on compensation, with its provisions for vocational re-education and guidance, is evidence of the acceptance of the message of McMurtrie and his fellow workers.

The difficulties attendant upon adjustment of the returned soldier to civilian life were detailed in 1917 by Helen R. Y. Reid, of the Canadian Patriotic Fund, and other representatives from Canada; and in a measure, the members of the Conference were prepared to recognize the problems, if not to treat them intelligently. The withdrawal of Federal appropriations for the combined Federal-state-local employment agencies, in early 1919, destroyed a promising resource for meeting the endless difficulties the returned serviceman faced in attempting to find a place for himself in the quiet tempo of civilian life.

From reading the plans made by the American Red Cross, or from observing the leadership it offered to localities, it is apparent how inadequate were the resources and even the imagination of leaders to help the returned man whether able-bodied or disabled (Arthur F. Sullivan, *Proceedings*, 1919). The same story is told about the care and treatment of those who returned as neuropsychiatric patients (Mary C. Jarrett, *Proceedings*, 1918). In their cases, knowledge of what should be done was more realistically possessed, but the resources were pitifully meager. The government was rapidly preparing buildings for

their hospitalization; but the special psychiatric guidance that they needed after discharge—or that was needed by those not physically ill enough to require medical treatment—was almost totally lacking.

The effect of the war upon social work was of deep concern to many speakers at the National Conference. Robert A. Wards, its president in 1918, took for his presidential address "The Regimentation of the Free." He foresaw "the stupendous organization of the nation for relief and service" in the American Red Cross, the promise of a new day in governmental functions, in foreign relief, and most of all in the splendid responses of the civilian population to war services. People would "carry over into the future the associated power which the war . . . evolves . . . a duty so profound that it stands indistinguishable from the objects of the war itself."

Julia C. Lathrop, president of the Conference in 1919, spoke of the necessity of the nation's being willing to invest heavily in the welfare of the common people during the coming years if the promise of advance in the social services was to be realized. She did not venture a prediction as to the outcome.

Professor James H. Tufts, of the University of Chicago, listed (1919) some gains made by the family as an incident of the war, and he assumed for them a certain degree of permanence. These were the establishment of new standards of public health, particularly with regard to health of children and to venereal disease; the coming of prohibition; the improvement of standards of living; the greater entrance of women into industry and responsible public service; and the drive toward equality for women.

In discussing the social problems of the war, Edward T. Devine, however, warned (1917) that we may "win the war, but lose the social gains"—a prophecy that has all the unpalatable quality and realistic foresight of a pronouncement by Cassan-

dra. His usual optimism prevailed in his final appraisal though: "We shall do our ordinary social work better after the war." It required the perspective of a few years, however, to realize the full effect of the reaction against Wilson's idealism.



ADVENTURES IN SOCIAL WELFARE
by
Alexander Johnson

PART 4

Adventures with the National Conference
of Charities and Corrections



Chapter Three

ADVENTURES AS SECRETARY

FIRST SERIES,* 1890-1893

I went to Baltimore in 1890 as the secretary of the Conference. Perhaps because it was my first year as secretary and I was enjoying the work and the position; but certainly the people who came to our meeting at Baltimore seemed to me the finest lot of folks with whom I ever had such intimate acquaintance.

Dr. Albert G. Byers, whose reputation as the only secretary in very many years of the Ohio State Board of Charities was nation-wide, was president. He was old and in failing health and he carried thru his duties on his nerve not on his bodily strength.

Mr. Joseph Cushing was chairman of the local committee and was a noble and lavish host. John M. Glenn was local secretary; he was getting his first taste of social work in which he holds a unique position today. Baltimore people lived up to their reputation for hospitality; they not only entertained us, both publicly and privately, but they crowded our meetings. Some years afterward when I was preparing publicity for a coming meeting, I wrote to a friend in Baltimore with the question, "what effect did the Conference have on your city and its social work?" and the answer was that many good things had happened and in every one of them the initial impulse might be traced to the Conference.

It was wonderfully interesting to go again to Baltimore in 1915, after the lapse of a quarter of a century; to recall old memories of great-souled people who had passed away and remember what they had been to the Conference and could be no more. It impressed me with the transitoriness of human life

*The second and third series in Chaps. 5 and 6 tell of my work as paid secretary which began in September 1904, and continued for nine years.

and the permanence of great and noble human institutions. Those who had made this splendid instrument for the promotion of human welfare were forgotten except by a few lingering survivors. But the Conference they had helped to create endured; stronger; with a more vigorous life; with many times greater attendance; than in the days when those early leaders seemed essential to its existence.

Most of all it was inspiring to see the new leaders at the front; strong men and women who had been little children when we met before in Baltimore; braver, more hopeful, more earnest, more determined than those whose work they were carrying on to heights undreamed of in the olden days.

I know nothing that makes me feel more optimistic than does the transformation of the National Conference; from a group of people chiefly concerned with various kinds of relief, correction, punishment; at best amelioration; to a body of social workers whose devotion is not merely to prevention; still less to relief; but emphatically to social construction. Some of the commonplaces of the Conference today would have sounded wildly radical if not Utopian to many who were leaders in 1890. To have had a share in that marvelous transformation fills me with gratitude to those who first caught the vision,—who kindled the torch, ran with it a few steps, and then handed it to others each to carry a little way and in turn pass it to their successors.

When we went from Indianapolis to the Conference it was with the determination to bring back with us the promise of the meeting of 1891. We took a Pullman car load of thirty-one people. Mr. McCulloch and I had outlined our campaign; we had resolved to use our best persuasion before the committee on time and place and get, if possible, a unanimous report; but if we failed in that our plan was to secure a minority report and then get the floor and with all the powers of speech we had stampede the Conference into supporting the minority. As it turned out although there were five or six other invitations to consider we had no trouble; the report was in our favor.

As Indianapolis was chosen Mr. McCulloch was the logical president. He had force, eloquence, character and he was a member of the Board of State Charities. After the election was over the local committee invited us to a carriage ride about the city.

I was in the same vehicle with Mr. McCulloch and noticed how silent he was, he who usually had so many interesting things to say; this endured for the first hour of our ride when he turned to me with a smile and said "Johnson, I have got it all settled". I said "settled what?" He said "our Conference". He had planned his arrangements for the local committee, chosen the chairman, the method of raising the necessary local contribution, the place of meeting, and had outlined his presidential address. Thenceforth for the rest of the ride he was his old genial self.

At the concluding meeting, a wonderful gathering, a crowded house in a large theatre, the stage full of distinguished people; Cardinal Gibbons in his scarlet robes the most conspicuous figure; Dr. Byers was taken sick and had to leave the platform. Oscar McCulloch, the incoming president, on receiving the gavel paid a touching tribute to the old veteran whom he was to succeed. The occasion was an intense and pathetic one. The contrast was extreme. McCulloch, though slender, was the picture of middle-age virility; his splendid, resonant, human voice was at its best. Byers, feeble and frail, was a vision of outworn senescence.

Before the next Conference convened Dr. Byers was given still greater promotion he left us for his permanent home. And after Mr. McCulloch's magnificent Conference in Indianapolis, he too passed over, before his friend and comrade Myron Reed called the Denver Conference to order in 1892.

At the close of the Baltimore Conference I spent three days as the guest of Mr. John M. Glenn, visiting with him the various state and city institutions and discussing social work. His friendship then gained has been one of the valued possessions of my life.

The Indianapolis meeting in 1891 was an especially memorable one for our board and myself. With one member presiding every member in attendance and its secretary the secretary of the Conference, we were much in the limelight. Our board was only two years old so that its novelty made it attractive to the newsgatherers. Mr. McCulloch was an expert in publicity as in everything he touched and very popular with the newspaper people; so the proceedings were better reported than ever before; he had secured from nearly every speaker an advance copy of

his paper; these with infinite labor he briefed; had them printed in galleys by the local agent of the Associated Press; and sent to a large number of newspapers with a release date; and most of them were used.

The sessions were held in Plymouth church of which Mr. McCulloch was pastor. It was a fine auditorium with good acoustics and plenty of vestries for committee meetings. The chairman of the local committee was H. H. Hanna, a leading business man who, though not a member of his church, was a great admirer of Mr. McCulloch. His method of collecting the local fund is worth telling. He wrote personal letters to some people explaining the Conference and its value to the city and state each ending "your share of the necessary local expense of \$3000.00, is \$100.00; please send a check to the treasurer". A few more he assessed \$50.00; others \$25.00; and a very few \$10.00. Only one letter failed to bring the check requested, and this was to a man who sailed for Europe before the Conference met. I tried the same plan in miniature for the state Conference which met in Fort Wayne in 1903, with similar results; I learned the lesson that in raising money it's always well to ask each man for a definite sum; if that is a liberal one the implied compliment is valued.

A feature of the Indianapolis Conference which has sometimes been repeated but never equalled was the introduction of congregational singing. McCulloch was an artist in church services and a great believer in the humanizing effect of people singing together. The organ in his church was with one exception the best west of the Alleghanies and was used at every session. We compiled a little book of Conference songs with tunes which everyone knows, and we sang once or twice at each session.

When I was president of the Indiana State Conference I reprinted this song-book with Mr. McCulloch's portrait as a frontispiece and under the picture one of his favorite bits from Browning which I thought very appropriate for him,

"One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward;
Never doubted clouds would break;
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph;
Held we fall to rise; are baffled to fight better; sleep to wake;"

Of course the members of the state board had to take part and John R. Elder read a paper on "How it looks to a New Member".

Early in the state board work Mr. Elder had been discouraged at finding, as he said, that the board had no authority; that no matter how rotten we might find things we had no way to right them. I told him that he was mistaken, that we had the very strongest force in the world behind us; that of public opinion; without which no law-made power can be effective in the lines of our work. He had decided on resigning but changed his mind and remained a useful member for many years, until failing health compelled his resignation.

As our board was new to the public the discussion on state boards was a popular part of the program to the local people. During this we had a piece of testimony from Dr. Thomas the newly installed superintendent of the Southern hospital. He had been an early opponent of the board; had been interviewed and had spoken in a very uncomplimentary manner. I called on him the day the interview appeared and made him change his opinion and when he became superintendent of the Southern hospital and was having trouble with an ignorant and old-fashioned board of trustees I helped him materially. In his speech at the Conference he told of his early distrust and opposition; but said that since he had learned to know our board he would not wish to be superintendent of a hospital in a state which lacked so useful a department of government.

The care of the feeble-minded had been introduced to the Conference in 1884, and a committee on the subject under slightly varying titles, became a permanent one for more than thirty years. Much of the present public interest in that vital topic has come from the Conference. At Indianapolis Dr. Fish of Illinois brought out a new feature in a paper on "Colony Care for All the Feeble-Minded". This was the introduction of the principle of permanent care; and my own convictions which I was to have the opportunity to carry out at Fort Wayne a few years later were based on this paper and similar ones at later Conferences.

When the time and place committee reported Denver was chosen for the Conference of 1892. Rev. Myron Reed of Denver had been a faithful comrade of Mr. McCulloch when they had preached in neighboring churches in Indianapolis. Together they had put thru many social reforms, "Mac," as Reed lovingly called him, always the leader. Their first meeting had been at a

Monday morning gathering of ministers before which Reed had presented a paper on Mathew Arnold. As soon as he sat down all his clerical brethren save one expressed their horror of Arnold as an atheist; all the more dangerous because of his personal morality and his attractive literary style. They warned Reed that he was on dangerous ground; that when he spoke well of Arnold his own orthodoxy would be seriously questioned.

When the torrent of invective ceased,—as Reed told the story,—a modest looking young man, a stranger to the rest, rose and quietly said it was evident that no one present but Mr. Reed and himself had ever read Arnold; and went on to show how futile was all the terror which the brethren had expressed. The stranger was McCulloch who had just taken Plymouth Church and as he sat down Reed grasped his hand and thenceforth they stuck closer than brothers.

Reed was pastor of a Presbyterian and McCulloch of a Congregational Church. They were equally liberal in their doctrine and equally enthusiastic in social welfare. For years thereafter they worked side by side; read the same books; every kind of literature except theological which both eschewed; preached from the same texts; spent their vacations together fishing the same Northern streams. Reed used to tell with gusto, of Mac, up to his middle in ice-cold water, in a rough, rocky stream, handling a five pound trout on an eight ounce rod, and quoting "Paracelsus", or "the Ring and the Book". They were strong Browningites and led a little Browning Society. Reed used to say it was their test of brains; anyone who could understand and appreciate Browning was good to tie to; he would not misunderstand you.

As Reed was now holding the same place in Denver as leader in liberal opinion and in social work that his friend held in Indianapolis; and as the Conference was going to Denver in 1892, Mr. McCulloch determined that his comrade should follow him as president.

Now I knew Reed and loved and respected him for what he was; but he had not the qualities needed for a president of the Conference; he hated detail; he could not do plodding work; he was rather impatient of stupid people. McCulloch knew all this as well as I; but he was the most faithful of friends; he wanted

Reed to have the honor, and the strength in his city which the position might lend him. When I remonstrated he said he had determined to help Reed out that he would do the preparatory routine work for him and help him to make the program. But though he did not know it he was then carrying the seeds of disease which had a quick development in his death a few months later; so his plans to help his friend carry off with credit the honor he had insisted on giving him, were of no avail.

McCulloch's influence prevailed and Reed was elected. I was re-elected secretary. I explained to Mr. Reed what a president's duties were; making the program for which he was wholly responsible; the vast amount of correspondence needed at once in confirming committee appointments and all the rest. He said, "I can't do that I sail next week for three months in Europe". Then I asked him if he would stand for whatever I did in his name during his absence and he heartily agreed.

When Reed returned to the U. S. I had a copying book (it was before the days of carbon paper) full of letters, and scores of answers. I wrote reminding him of his job and asking him to take it over at once. To this came no reply nor to a second letter of the same tenor. Then I wired him that I would ship the mass of correspondence by express. He answered by wire "don't you dare ship that stuff to me".

We finally agreed that I was to continue with the program and other detail he promising to pay any bill for expenses I should present. When the program was ready we called an executive committee meeting in Chicago, which was more fully attended than was usual at meetings between Conferences there being nine or ten present. At Indianapolis a committee on section meetings had reported favorably but had referred the matter to the executive committee for action. This was pending and was felt to be important as it involved a new principle and a new development of the Conference. The executive committee consented with some reluctance to the new plan, in fact Hastings Hart, the president, and I were the only ones at all enthusiastic. The dread of division which sectionalism might lead to was still very strong, and we were emphatically forbidden to use the term "section" we might only speak of "*special*" sessions.

After the discussion on the new deal was over Reed said, "Now, Mr. Johnson read *our* program to these gentlemen". Then he called for criticism; there being none he polled the meeting; asking each in turn "Mr. Elmore, does this suit you?" "Mr. Wines, what have you to say?" "Mr. Hart, do you approve?" After getting expressions of satisfaction from each he said "now gentlemen, I have not written a letter nor done a thing about that program. It's Johnson's work from beginning to end." This made it easy for me; if it had been presented as my tentative sketch; instead of a finished project by him; there would have been many suggestions of change. Reed had the art of making his friends do his work for him but he was always positive in giving them all the credit they deserved.

The Denver Conference under the new method of numerous meetings in different halls was increasingly interesting, but it greatly increased the work of the secretary. To keep track of all that was going on; to be able to direct enquiring delegates who *would not* study their programs, to the meeting they wished to attend; to assign with prophetic insight each meeting to a hall that would be just the right size for it; to make certain that the janitors had three or four halls ready; to keep seven or eight chairmen in the path of duty instead of just one President; to placate chairmen who thought their meetings were not properly advertised so that delegates were not paying enough attention to them but were wandering off after strange gods; all these and a thousand and one other details made the seven days of the Conference a most strenuous time; not only for the secretary but for the local committee; who also must be managed and kept in good humor. And while doing and seeing to all these things to keep one's own head and preserve one's own good humor, gave the task the attraction that comes from a difficult job. It is no wonder that the day the excitement was over and the Conference adjourned, the secretary was in a condition approaching collapse.

Mr. Reed carried a strong infusion of Indian blood in his veins, his grandmother was a full-blood Narragansett Indian. He could sit for hours on a log in the woods but a few minutes in the chair at a meeting irked him. At the first morning session I saw him becoming restless and reminded him that he had three

vice-presidents any one of whom he might call to the chair if he wished to do so. With a gleam in his eye and a sigh of relief he replied, "tell that man Hart I want him". I brought Hart to the chair and Reed went to the back of the house where he stood behind the last row of seats, breathing deeply and occasionally stretching out his arms in a characteristic gesture, until the meeting adjourned.

It was usual before the membership became too large, to devote an hour at each Conference to memorial addresses in honor of well-known members who had died since the last meeting. The addresses at Denver in memory of Mr. McCulloch, of whom our thoughts were still so fresh and who was very much beloved, were particularly beautiful and appropriate. One of the most touching was by Mr. Reed. No one else had known our dead friend so intimately, nor had been under such spiritual debt to him. In concluding his speech he told of a fishing trip among the mountains, which he had shared with Mr. McCulloch; how they were driving towards Leadville and had got on the wrong road. Inquiring from a teamster whom they met he told them they were on the road that led to the Mount of the Holy Cross, and they turned back. "Since then," Reed said, "he has returned to that road and has arrived; and I, for my part tread a somewhat lonesome trail."

It is hard to turn away from thinking and writing of a man whom I loved as I did Oscar McCulloch. When I remember what he was and what he did it is impossible to think of him as non-existent. But certainly he lives again as part of "the choir invisible, whose music is the gladness of the world". His influence on the city and state which loved him and he loved, did not end with his death. I know of no better example than his

"Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence."

and who are

The sweet presence of a good diffused,
And in diffusion ever more intense."

The Denver meeting closed my first period as secretary, as I was chosen general secretary of an international meeting to be held at Chicago in 1893, and the two positions were thought to

make too heavy a burden for one volunteer worker to carry. Many interesting adventures came to me before I became the secretary as a vocation, instead of an avocation, in 1904. The second series of my adventures as secretary of the Conference will be written later. The next chapter to this will tell of the meetings I attended while I lived and worked among the feeble-minded.

Chapter Four

CONFERENCES FROM 1893 TO 1904

IN CHICAGO, 1893

As the World's Columbian Exposition was to be held in Chicago, that city was selected for the session of 1893. This was a departure from a previous wise custom of avoiding any city at a time of some other great meeting. A large part of the usefulness of the Conference is in calling affairs of social welfare to the attention of the leading people in the city which acts as host; so that it does well not to compete with other interesting public gatherings. Only once since 1893 has this rule been ignored; that was when we met in Portland, Ore., in 1905, during the exposition there; and the local interest was so poor that the attendance from Portland and all the Coast was less than one-half of the number of delegates who crossed the continental divide to attend.

At Chicago, Hastings H. Hart was president and his program was an historical one. It was the twentieth Conference. Each committee chairman made his report a history of the interest he represented. When, in 1905, I began a systematic effort to sell the accumulated files of proceedings to college and public libraries, and to students of social affairs; I always advised as complete a file as could be furnished, but recommended those who could not afford to buy all the volumes available, to begin with that of the historic Conference of 1893.

The Exposition offered a fine opportunity for big gatherings. Among these was an International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy, which was organized as a department of The World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition. This quite over-shadowed the National Conference for the year, so we restricted ourselves to a short three days session preceding the Congress. This was rather hard on Mr. Hart who was, and is, one of our ablest men, and who would have

given us a great seven days program if he had had the opportunity.

Over the International Congress, which was really a temporary expansion of the National Conference, ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes presided, and I was general secretary. My friend N. S. Rosenau was organizing secretary. In connection with the Congress, a department of the World's Exposition was devoted to Charities and Correction, and Rosenau was its Director, which duty he performed with much ability.

Frederick H. Wines was first vice-president of the Congress, and was the active man, with Rosenau, in planning it. Among his other duties was to secure a preacher for a congress sermon. I was somewhat disturbed when he told me that the minister was to be the Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer; not because of any objection of my own to a woman preacher, but fearing that popular opinion would be adverse. Wines assured me that the choice was good and said "wait till you hear her, you will find I have made no mistake".

Mrs. Spencer's sermon was one of the most inspiring I have ever heard. She was a woman of deep spirituality, with a wonderful brain and a heart for all humanity. Her voice was of fine quality, and coming from a frail and exquisite body, of surprising power. She made a great impression on her hearers, many of whom were distinguished people and most of whom had never listened to a woman preacher. This was before women had come into their own; in the days when the highest praise we men folk would give to some, as we thought, exceptional speaker of the gentler sex, was that she did remarkably well for a woman. Perhaps some of our grandchildren may say, of some exceptional male orator, "how well he speaks—for a man".

I had the privilege of winning Mrs. Spencer's friendship at the Congress, tho I little thought then how close and satisfactory our relations were to be when she and I became associate directors of the N. Y. School of Philanthropy, eleven years later.

I had already been appointed superintendent of the school for feeble-minded so that the Chicago Conference was the last I was to attend as secretary of a Board of State Charities. I look back on those meetings from 1890 to 1893, my first period as secretary, as among the pleasantest memories of my life, I never made

so many nor so good friends during the same length of time, and in 1896, the fact that I had been secretary of the Conference while connected with a Board of State Charities, was one reason why my election as president seemed appropriate; notwithstanding that at the time I was in such different work. I was the only superintendent of a state institution; who ever received the honor of the presidency.

NASHVILLE IN 1894

The Conference of 1894 was at Nashville. Here the unwritten law, that the president must represent a state board, was abrogated when Robert Treat Paine, president of the Boston Associated Charities was chosen. He was a man of illustrious lineage, fine culture and attractive personality; one of the few who in middle life have had the resolution to abandon a profitable profession in which he was very successful, and devote himself to the welfare of his kind. His connection with the Associated Charities was one of the main reasons—there were many others of the same kind and quality—why the Boston society was so clearly the best among the many useful ones.

In writing of the leaders in the Conference the temptation to exhaust the superlative is almost irresistible. It may be I am overzealous in their praise, but I know that whatever is best in my own character is largely due to contact with them. One cannot live with ignoble minds without loss; nor associate on terms of equal opportunity with noble people without some gain of nobility. It is one of the chief attractions of the profession of social work that one's associate workers are usually people whose character helps enhance one's own. At any rate, if I am to write of them at all, I must write as I feel; so I shall risk the old fling that was sometimes made; that we were a mutual admiration society.

At Nashville I had a few friends, and many pleasant memories, dating from the time when we went to that city for the American Prison Association's meeting in 1889. That was one of the National meetings that I had to attend, as secretary of the state board. While interesting and useful they were so far overshadowed by the National Conference of Charities and Correction, that my memory of them is comparatively dim. Not

being a prison man I did not take much active part, although I did get a few ideas which helped me in my work as inspector of prisons and other penal institutions.

At Nashville a committee reported on "Instruction in Sociology in Institutions of Learning". This subject had been presented at the International Congress in Chicago the year previous, but it was introduced to the National Conference now for the first time. The chairman was Dr. Fulcomer, lecturer in social science in the University of Chicago. Dr. Fulcomer's ideas of social science were very practical and his paper was an emphatic public recognition by a university man that our science of social work exists and is an integral part, or a practical application, of the science of sociology. The report in the proceedings is still valuable for reference as a summary of sociology teachers and classes of that date. During the discussion on this report one good talk was by Miss Lathrop on "Hull House as a Sociological Laboratory", thus linking up the settlements with the National Conference on its highest side.

The National Association of Officers of Institutions for the Feeble-Minded met at Nashville with the Conference, so that the discussions on feeble-mindedness were better than usual. As I came to the Conference representing the Indiana School, I was eager to learn all the experienced people had to teach. A paper by Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows is still one of the best on its subject, "Manual Training for the Feeble-Minded". It was given in connection with a useful exhibit of handwork from several institutions.

The attendance at Nashville was only fair, and towards the end of the session the local interest seemed to fall off from day to day, or so at least the executive committee thought. The program called for the final meeting on Wednesday, but on Monday morning the committee, fearing a fiasco, decided to cut one day and adjourn to Memphis where they were invited to hold two or three meetings.

Although a member of the executive committee I had missed the meeting, but as soon as I heard the decision I was indignant. Roseneau joined heartily with me and together we canvassed the committee and got another meeting. We told them they must keep faith with the public; we had promised a meeting on

Wednesday and we ought to hold it, if there were only a corporal's guard of us left; that they were all wrong about interest falling off; that the last meeting would be one of the best. When they said that because of lapses they had no speakers for Wednesday, we said we had lots of program available. Then they told us we might go ahead but they were going to Memphis.

Then Rosenau and I got busy. We found excellent speakers and the meeting was the largest of the Conference, except the one on Sunday night, and faith was kept with the public. Since that day the Conference has never cut its advertised program, nor indeed has it had any temptation to do so for want of material, its programs are usually overloaded.

At our meeting we specialized in women speakers getting Mrs. C. W. Fairbanks of the Indiana State Board to talk on "Women on Public Boards", and Miss Julia C. Lathrop of Hull House to tell us about "Nursing in Chicago". This was Miss Lathrop's first Conference, and she won a distinct place among Conference speakers. Every one who has heard her give a public address will understand how her charming voice and manner and her delicious sense of humor captivated the people of that Southern city, to many of whom the idea of a woman speaker was new.

When the Conference met eight years later at Detroit, Miss Lathrop was chairman of the committee on insanity, and gave the best statement to date of the social side of the care of the insane. By 1902 the sex line in Conference affairs was almost obliterated, though we still had to wait a few years for a woman president. Miss Lathrop was a member of the Illinois State Board and a resident of Hull House; the opportunities she had had for first hand knowledge of social conditions and of state affairs were unusually good and she made good use of them. There have been few public men, still fewer women, who have had equal opportunities of information, or equal powers of both head and heart to use them. She was the first woman to be made head of an important department of the U. S. Government, and no department has made a higher reputation. She was president of the National Conference in 1919, at Atlantic City, and showed rare ability in the chair, handling some rather difficult situations with tact, judgment and firmness.

YALE AND THE CONFERENCE

The Conference of 1895 was held under the famous elm trees of New Haven. It was notable because of its president, the first to be elected from outside the circle of the state boards, and from the interest taken in it by eminent university men. The dean of Yale Law School, Judge Francis Wayland, was chairman of the local committee. The committee on Sociology in Institutions of Learning offered five papers, each by a university man; one from Columbia, one from Smith, one from Chicago and two who were at home at Yale; and there were three other papers at the Conference by college professors.

Sociology was then one of the new sciences; it was knocking at the doors of colleges and gaining tardy and cool reception at some of them. Many people said there could be no science of human behavior since what a man would do under a given set of circumstances could not be predicted, and no given set of circumstances could ever be exactly repeated. Some purists even criticized the name of the new science because it was a hybrid of Greek and Latin. There might indeed be a science of Political Economy, or the Wealth of Nations, because that was founded on selfishness and every man is selfish, at any rate every man has a stomach to be filled. But a science which should build itself of such thin air as altruistic sentiment, would surely fade like the baseless fabric of a vision.

Yet here were some feeble social workers, pretending that there could be a science even of their little department of social affairs; the least exact of any, since it involved the higher emotions. And here at the very seat of learning, and helped by the most learned professors; we would-be scientists got more encouragement than we ever had before.

Things have progressed since 1895, and every university has its course of sociology (though we hear of one* that is dropping it for geology—the students who ask for social bread are to be offered a stone) and many have a department of applied sociology which is social welfare. The events at New Haven, when Yale joined hands with the National Conference of Charities and Correction, have surely had some influence in this advance.

*The University of Georgia.

By this time the C. O. S. section (they were not sections then but I use the term for convenience) was no longer my chief attraction; what I was now concerned with treated of the defectives, especially the feeble-minded. Just as family welfare work had seemed to me, in 1884, to be the only, or the straightest road to social reform; so now the prevention of hereditary defectiveness seemed the most important study. There were some valuable papers and discussions on this topic, one by Dr. George Keene on "The Genesis of the Defective" gave Frank B. Sanborn, who was nothing if not a humorist, a chance for one of his famous *bon mots*. He said "we don't want to hear of the Genesis of the Defective, tell us of his Exodus".

At New Haven once more the superintendents of institutions for the feeble-minded attempted to hold their meeting in connection with the Conference. The result was unfavorable; but I induced them to try it again the next year at Grand Rapids. There, as at New Haven, their association was over-shadowed by the large one; attention was dissipated and lost, and they did not repeat the experiment. Most of the members were physicians and though they were always scrupulously fair to us who were laymen, the majority felt more drawn to the American Medical Association than to the Conference of Charities. Being doctors they saw the medical part of the work as most important; the laymen amongst us more correctly estimated the social as far more necessary to the community than the medical side, but we were in a very small minority in the association.

GRAND RAPIDS IN 1896

By the time the Conference met in Grand Rapids in 1896, I had made a reputation as a ready speaker. Frank B. Sanborn who had promised to make the response to the address of welcome at the opening meeting, was belated and wired his regrets, and Wright, the president, five minutes before the meeting, asked me to take his place. To my mortification, when he called on me, he prefaced my speech by an apology, telling of my unpreparedness. My father, fifty years before, gave me a homely proverb, "never cry stinking fish," (a quaint Lancashire variant of the French "qui s'excuse, s'accuse"), ever since I understood that wise saw I have despised pre-apologies.

Addresses of welcome are usually platitudinous productions, but this time we had a welcome from Governor Rich, which was eloquent, sincere and luminous; he showed such a comprehension of what we were about as we had rarely heard expressed. At the meeting in Detroit twenty years before, Governor Bagley, also of Michigan, had been equally happy in a similar address, and though I had not heard it I had heard of it; so I was able to say that only once before had we received so able a welcome and that it, like the present one, was by a Governor of Michigan. Then I knew of many fine things the state had done and also that their delegates to the Conference (singularly for Mid-Westerners) had been almost unduly modest about their performances. Of course all this pleased the Michigan people and my speech rather surprised my good friend Wright and confirmed my reputation as a pinch hitter.

Some of the settlement people, and especially the few of them who were also interested in associated charities; had long deplored that even the best of the working people were not interested in us or our work. A few of them got together at Grand Rapids and arranged a Sunday afternoon meeting, to which working-men were specially invited. Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop and a few others, consented to speak on the more possible topics; but a speaker was needed. so they thought, to convince working people that associated charities is worth while. I was elected to lead that forlorn hope and was allowed five minutes to do what they confessed was an almost impossible task. I thought the same, even in as many hours as they offered me minutes, and told them so. Miss Lathrop was the chairman as well as the entrepreneur of the meeting and tried to flatter me into making the attempt by admitting that it *was* almost impossible, but that I was the only man (if any) who could do it. Of course such flattery from such a woman was too much for me and I yielded.

After the meeting Florence Kelley said to me "you and I have learned one thing about public speaking at any rate". To my question "what is that?" she replied "quitting". It was true I had learned to stop at the time appointed. Hers was the only compliment I had on my speech. *It was deserved.*

At Grand Rapids the committee on feeble-minded of which I was chairman, made an exhaustive report on "Permanent Custodial Care". Unlike many of the reports of that day, this was really the work of the committee, I merely putting it in shape. Ernest P. Bicknell, who was then secretary of the Indiana Board of Charities, read a paper, since much quoted, on "Feeble-Mindedness as an Inheritance". The report is as timely today as it was twenty-six years ago; and Bicknell's paper, as later amplified by his successor on the Indiana Board, Amos W. Butler; remains the most thoughtful and conclusive essay on the social side of its subject, which has ever been published.

Wright had asked me a few weeks before the meeting, to fill my usual place as chairman of the nominating committee, but when he made the announcements my name was not on the list. I was just a trifle piqued and mentioned his queer action to Ernest Bicknell; all he gave me for an answer was a wink of his left eye. I guessed it meant that they had me slated for some honor, perhaps vice-president, but when the committee reported I was named for president. It was a complete and rather staggering surprise. Bicknell had done it, I am afraid, by some very quiet (and quite conscientious) wire-pulling. At any rate it was done, and much as I was pleased by the honor, my dear wife, who was with me, was made still more happy.

Twelve years later I got even with Bicknell and was able to make certain his nomination as president; which was in danger before the committee from a vicious and treacherous opponent; a man who had a morbid hatred of organized charity and never missed a chance at the Conference against any one who either was at the time, or had been, connected with it. People of his sort were so rare at the Conference that whenever they bobbed up it gave us a shock of surprise.

The night after my election I did not sleep until I had outlined my presidential address for the next year, and also planned that pleasant and innocent revenge on Mr. Letchworth, of which I have told in the story of my first Conference.

NEW ORLEANS AND TORONTO

The year 1897 was that of the most exciting of my Conference adventures. The New Orleans delegates, especially Michel Hey-

mann who had been a faithful attendant for many years, had frequently begged us to come to the Crescent City. But Conference meetings are usually held about Midsummer and people dreaded the far Southern climate. In 1896, the invitation was vainly repeated and after the decision for Toronto was announced, was re-iterated in a new form; we were asked to visit them for a short extra session in the Spring. So in 1897, we held two conferences; one of three days in March, in New Orleans, convening the day following Mardi Gras; and one of the usual seven days duration, in Toronto in July.

Only about ninety people from the North and East went to New Orleans, and the attendance from Texas, Alabama and Mississippi was very disappointing; but the Conference had a good local attendance and won many Southern friends, both for itself and the interests it stands for. Its net results were beneficial to the city. But the dominating influences of old fashioned and sectarian charity are strong. There is a little leaven, but it will be long ere the whole lump is leavened.

It was an interesting sign of the advance of social work, that when the Conference met for the second time in New Orleans, in May 1920, there was a large audience of people from all over the country, and a degree of attention from the citizens that was very gratifying.

At the New Orleans meeting as president I abolished one rather annoying custom, that of allowing discussions to be interrupted by the injection of notices and invitations to receptions and institutions. This had grown until it was a serious evil and I determined the time had come to abate it. Notices have to be given, and given in a way to be heeded; they are important enough to have a place of their own. When I became full-time secretary I made the giving of notices a specialty and developed it almost into a fine art. On one occasion a transient visitor was heard to say, to a friend who wanted to leave the meeting because a prosy speaker had poor terminal facilities; "no let's wait and hear that man give out the notices". In fact one friend said I had missed my calling, I ought to have been a monologue artist.

There was a tragic incident in connection with the New Orleans meeting which excited our sympathies. Robert Treat Paine had come to the meeting leaving his wife apparently in

perfect health. On the second day he had a wire telling that she was very ill, even in danger of death. The fast train for the North had left a few minutes before the telegram came. Mr. Paine ordered a special train for Boston; everything the roads could do to speed it was done; but he arrived too late to see his beloved partner alive. The pathetic figure of that noble man sitting alone in the train as it sped over the rails; receiving telegraphic bulletins at every division point of his wife's condition as it steadily grew worse; was one that stirred the hearts of those of us who knew him well and revered him highly; and the news that she had passed away before he reached her side was received with very deep regret.

Toronto in July has many attractions, I had lived in Ontario and was married there, although in the intervening twenty-five years most of my old friends were gone. But there was a special pleasure in returning to the Province in the dignified character of president of the National Conference. My wife went with me and helped in the social life of the meeting, and when it was over we took a brief vacation, revisiting places of which we had happy memories of the long ago, we had quite a sentimental journey.

In reviewing the old Conferences, the most interesting memories are of those in which some important new notes were sounded, leading to developments of new features of social work.

I have alluded to the friendly relations between the Conference and the settlements which were begun in 1894, and strongly re-enforced in 1897. Several other new developments came this year, some of which were transitory, but others had permanent effects upon the Conference and upon social work in general. Among these by far the most significant was the idea of establishing schools for social workers. There was a time when the would-be lawyer or doctor, served an apprenticeship under a master of his craft. Now we have schools of Law and Medicine and without them the professions would make little progress. If social work is to be a profession, new workers must have a wider and more systematic preparation than they can get by serving in a humble capacity under some experienced secretary; or at any rate some training they may get more readily.

At the Toronto meeting, Mary E. Richmond read a paper on "The Need of a Training School in Applied Philanthropy". She gave the credit of the original idea to Miss Anna L. Dawes, to whom it came during a vain search for a suitable superintendent for the charitable society of a small city. Although it seemed at the moment, in the rush and bustle of the Conference, to excite little interest, this paper had a great and speedy effect.

Edward T. Devine has long been recognized as among the most forceful clear-sighted and enterprising of our leaders. He has a specialty in which he is unique. Socrates said of himself, that he was engaged in the profession of the midwifery of ideas; that it was his business to help people give birth to their thoughts. One of Devine's useful services, in which he leads us all, is a sort of midwifery of social movements, committees, associations, agencies of various sorts, which have the common object of taking from weak shoulders burdens too heavy for them to bear.* He caught the vision of the training school and backed by Robert W. deForest; who has for *his* social specialty the discovery of men who can do things, setting them to work doing them, and then giving them whole hearted support; a year later organized the six-weeks summer school of philanthropy in New York; which has resulted not only in the great school for social workers of that city, but has been the precursor of many more of the same kind.

Another idea; new to the Conference but fifty years old in Paris; recognized for eight years in London; and for several years by the American Neurological Association and the Medico-Psychological Society; was that of the after-care of the insane. This was presented in a paper by Dr. Richard Dewey, then of Wauwatosa, Wis., formerly of Kankakee, Ill., where he had made the state hospital a model for the Nation. His paper was entitled "The Destitute Convalescent".

The idea of after-care was taken up by the N. Y. State Charities Aid Association under another constructive leader, Homer Folks. As the beginning of that work was aided by the school of philanthropy while I was director, the story of that develop-

*See in the proceedings for 1905, page 625, Devine's speech on being elected president of the Conference. I wish Devine, or someone for him, would write for us the story of his brilliantly useful life, maybe when he retires at seventy-five he will do it.

ment will be told later in my book, as an adventure in social education. The plan of after-care for the insane was approved in other states, besides New York and at least one Board of State Charities, and perhaps more, have made it a regular part of their work, with great benefit to the convalescent insane and much advantage to the states and relief to their hospitals.

An unwritten law of the Conference, specially binding on the president as program-maker, was that efforts must be made to arouse local interest in the cities which are visited; to discover any line of social welfare with which our hosts, or any of them are vitally concerned, so that it might be well presented in the program. There was in Toronto a large and influential single tax club. The Canadians have done more than Henry George's fellow citizens to carry out his great reform. There are thriving cities, especially in the N. W. provinces, which have realized the advantage of a law which promotes the creation of plentiful housing for all, and discourages the grasping, real-estate speculators, who try to get rich thru the exertions of less selfish or more enterprising people. As soon as the club heard we were coming to talk; as they interpreted our program; about relieving the poor; they demanded that their theories of abolishing poverty; which they conceived would be one effect of the single tax, should be heard.

I was all the more sympathetic with the club's demand because an ardent Henry Georgeite myself. Now the only way to get a subject before the Conference, after the general features of the program have been outlined by the nominating committee at last year's session; is to have it adopted by one of the committees; the only one on the list which could possibly father a paper on "The Abolition of Poverty" was that on charity organization in cities, and I told the chairman of the club's demand.

The chairman opposed the intrusion as he called it, and I had much ado to convince him that we must not deny the request. I argued that tho we are greatly concerned with organizing relief, we profess to be still more eager for prevention; and here was a respectable local group who thought they knew; not merely how to prevent; but how to abolish the chief evil we were fighting; who certainly ought to be heard. He very reluctantly gave in to my urgency provided I would find him a good speaker.

With the help of Mrs. Barrows who was then, and for many years our official reporter and editor; I did my best to induce some of the prominent single-tax men to come to Toronto. I tried Bolton Hall and William Lloyd Garrison without avail. They thought twenty minutes, which was all I could offer them, too short a time in which to produce any effect in what they called "*the enemy's country*". I told them twenty minutes was only the beginning; that if they sounded the right note a discussion was sure to follow; that I should hold the gavel and be too much in sympathy with them to use it hastily, if only they captured the audience. I reminded them that Moody used to declare that there are no conversions after twenty minutes. I said if an enemy of mine would give me twenty minutes in his country I would ask nothing better. But they did not realize the value of the opportunity I offered them; or they were too faint-hearted or indifferent; and I had to give them up.*

Then I wrote to the Toronto single taxers of my failure with their big guns, and told them if they could find an acceptable speaker they should have twenty minutes to abolish poverty in. They named Rev. S. S. Craig, one of their members, an ardent enough believer, but with little magnetism and a distinctively pulpit voice; his speech elicited no discussion and was a great disappointment. However "Abolition of Poverty" got into the Proceedings and when I compiled the cumulative index of thirty-three volumes, in 1905, the first line on the first page was "Abolition of Poverty, The, Craig, S. S., 97, 272". Believers in tax reform, as a great social need, tried several times to get the Conference interested, notably at Cleveland in 1912; and we have often had side-meetings on the subject, but this most positive and most certain of all preventive measures, is still too much in advance of social thought, and presents too much danger to the interests who rule our country for their own benefit, to gain its due recognition.

In a previous chapter I have told a part of the story of my efforts at Toronto to promote sociability among the Conference delegates. I set this before me as a chief duty of a president, I stressed the idea that social work ought to be done socially, and

*Twenty years later, Mr. Hall came to the Conference at Pittsburgh and read a paper on his favorite topic.

with the help of my wife I really made same success. It helped a little with the Canadian delegates that Mrs. Johnson had been born among them, and my own English nativity was of value in the Dominion.

The Association of Officers of the Schools for the Feeble-Minded, or as we often called ourselves, "The Feeble-Minded Superintendents", was to hold its meeting at the Ontario School, at Orillia, immediately after the National Conference. Here we found some old friends and made many new and pleasant friendships. The whole adventure was one of the most agreeable of my life.

IN THE EMPIRE CITY, 1898

New York may have some sad social defects, but it is emphatically the center of the social movements of the country. So when an invitation came to the Conference to hold its twenty-fifth session in the great city it was accepted with enthusiasm. The very first session of the committee which grew into the Conference, was held there in 1874, and occasion was taken to make the twenty-fifth a notable one. The president was William Rhinelander Stewart, of the N. Y. Board of State Charities and he discharged his duties as host with thorough efficiency.

The opening session was to be on Wednesday and on the day before, Mr. Stewart invited a group of ten conference men to dine in his house on Washington Square, which had been in the Rhinelander family for more than a hundred years. It was a stag party and the host called in nine notable gentlemen as convivialists with the conference folks. As I had been president the year before I was one of those bidden to the feast.

My escort to the dining room was Levi P. Morton; Hastings Hart, our secretary, went in to dinner on the arm of Jacob D. Schiff; Thomas Ellison of Indiana, who was first vice-president, had Morris K. Jessup as a partner—Whitelaw Reid, Seth Low, ex-Mayor Dailey, were among those invited to meet us.

The dinner was by far the most gorgeous affair of its kind I have ever attended. This was long before prohibition, so the wet-goods were of the best, including some cognac laid down by our host's grandfather, the year the house was built. When the formal menu concluded, Mr. Stewart turned to me (I was at his

left) and asked whether we Westerners enjoyed making speeches at dinner parties. I assured him that only a stern sense of duty ever made us speak in public at all. He said that was the way he felt about it, so instead of formal speech-making over the wine, he re-arranged the seating twice, the first time placing me beside Mr. Schiff and later by Whitelaw Reid, with each of whom I had an interesting conversation, although as our host introduced me to each of them as a "feeble-minded expert", I had to talk shop; while I had sat beside Mr. Morton our converse had chiefly concerned pure-bred cattle, about which we were equally enthusiastic.

At the opening meeting, because I was the latest ex-president, I was called on to respond to the address of welcome. Carnegie Hall was crowded with the best people (or rather the most prominent) of the city; on the platform was the most notable group we ever had together. Joseph Choate, leader of the New York Bar, presided; Seth Low, then president of Columbia, made the address of welcome; Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop Potter each made a speech. On the stage were the gentlemen with whom we had dined on the previous evening and thirty or forty others of similar distinction; of the many I remember Richard Watson Gilder, Charlton T. Lewis, J. Kennedy Tod, ex-Governor Flower, John S. Kennedy, Everett P. Wheeler and Isaac N. Seligman. There were no ladies on the platform, they filled the boxes.

Jeffrey R. Brackett of Maryland was to speak for the South, and Frank B. Sanborn of Massachusetts for the East; my response was to be from the West. Like every other would-be orator, I had long craved a chance at a New York audience, and now it had come. It was no wonder that the great occasion and the array of intellect on the platform made me desperately nervous. About the middle of Mr. Low's speech I had an attack of stage fright so intensely severe that it more than paid me out for the nonchalance with which I had faced hundreds of audiences before, and with which I have met thousands since. The speaker's voice changed in my ear to a distant rumble; I felt my heart beating like a hammer; my mouth went dry; every vestige of my carefully prepared speech vanished from my mind; and I forgot all about the notes in my pocket.

While I was in that condition Mr. Low concluded; there was a roar of applause and I heard Mr. Choate announce that the first response to the address would be by Mr. Johnson of Indiana, president of last year's Conference, who would speak for the West. As I rose to my feet, my knees trembling violently; the story of the old lady who had difficulty in living up to her blue china, flashed on my mind and I said that we simple folk from the South and West had expected great things of New York and of Mr. Stewart, but (waving my hand to the platform) we were hardly prepared for such a magnificent array of blue china, to whose level we must live up for a whole week. The audience caught on and laughed and clapped. Some of the dignitaries on the platform laughed and pointed at themselves and each other, and during the laughter and applause; which lasted all of two minutes; I recovered myself and remembered the things I had prepared to say.

At the concluding session of the Conference, Mr. Stewart insisted on getting all the ex-presidents in attendance to sit on the platform, and before his closing speech he called on each of them. There were eleven of us in a row and I came last. I reminded them of my comparison of Mr. Stewart's distinguished friends on the platform at Carnegie, to a shelf of blue china to whose level we must rise for a week; and congratulated him that, at the closing meeting, he had exhibited such a delightful collection of antiques, to which he too would belong when the Conference should adjourn in a few minutes.

There were not many new notes struck at the New York Conference. It was chiefly a glorified love feast. But many new and improved connections were made. Catholic, Protestant and Jew, were brought nearer to each other. There was much frank discussion and many theories were weighed in the balance. The attention given to our Conference by social workers of every kind in the great city, helped to establish it more firmly than ever, in its place in the Nation.

TOPEKA AND CINCINNATI, 1899-1900

The Conference of 1899 was held at Topeka, Kan., and I did not attend, so I have no adventure there to tell about. When we

met in Cincinnati, in 1900, with my friend Charles Richmond Henderson, as president, I was merely a private in the ranks. I was usually a member of a committee and had part in some discussion, but I felt myself always a learner and attended every general session and as many of the section meetings as possible.

WASHINGTON A SECOND TIME, 1901

It was interesting at Washington to recall what had occurred sixteen years before; to notice how the Conference had grown, and remember with gratitude what it had done for me. As I glance over the proceedings and read again an occasional address or sermon, I am continually struck by finding the source of some idea or principle, which I have used, both in speeches and among the things I live by; that I acquired at the meetings, but had forgotten where I found them. Sometimes I have even imagined things heard at the Conference and then forgotten by my conscious mind; when they have later come out into consciousness; to have been original ideas of my own. I can say after thirty-eight years, as I said after four or five, that all my most valuable knowledge of the principles of social work has been what I have gained at this great school, whose proceedings I have studied and used, more, I think than any other man.

John M. Glenn, presided over the Conference at Washington, and with ultra modesty, declined to make a presidential address, but called on Dr. Samuel G. Smith to do it for him. Most of us who knew Mr. Glenn's sterling qualities, regretted his decision. We were quite certain that any address he would make would rank up well among others of the kind. We had heard Dr. Smith before and knew the measure of his mind fairly well. His address was a good one, a man of his ability could not make any other, but it was not our president's voice, nor our president's thought.

It was good at Washington to have my dear friend Zilpha Smith as chairman of the committee on charity organization. If women had been regarded by the Conference in 1884, as they were in 1900, she instead of I, would have been chairman in 1885. It has been by a slow and tedious approach, that the Conference

has come to practice the principles of equality which it has always professed.

When a society claims to be essentially democratic; to make no distinction of sect or sex among its membership; and yet restricts all its principal offices and honors to those of one sex and of a few religious denominations; real democrats look on it with some suspicion. I was never satisfied with the nominating committees, until they had given us, as presidents, a Woman, a Catholic and a Jew. And when after many Conference Sermons preached by Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and even Unitarians, we had one by a Catholic Bishop, and another by a Jewish Rabbi; I was able to feel that the democracy—not toleration but recognition of equality—which I liked to proclaim in making speeches for the promotion of the Conference, was real.

The platform of the Conference is not one of toleration; people of various sects and opinions share it, not by ignoring diversity but by recognizing it. I love to stand shoulder to shoulder with my Jewish brother because he is a Jew. I lift my end of the log the more cheerfully because my fellow worker who is toting the other is a Catholic. I despise the idea of "toleration" and refuse to go anywhere, or join any society, where I am "tolerated".

At Washington, Jeffrey Brackett was chairman of the nominating committee and asked me to suggest a president for the next year; he said, "We are going to Detroit and for the Middle-West we want one of your good Indiana men; who is the best?" I named Timothy Nicholson. Now Timothy, though often attending, had been seldom heard. His theory of participating in discussions was to keep silent unless the thing which needed saying was not being said by someone else, and Jeffrey questioned his ability. But I knew the man, what sterling qualities, what knowledge, wisdom, balanced judgment, fairness, insight, sympathy and absolute integrity of thought were his; what ability of leadership he had shown for fifty years past among his own people. In choosing him they gave the Conference one of the worthiest in its long line of worthy presidents.

There have been few so useful citizens in Indiana or any other state, as this grand, old Quaker. Few who have given their best

services to the community in such Quaker measure.* To have known him well and to have gained his confidence and lasting friendship, are among the best of the many good things which came to me out of my adventure with the Board of State Charities of Indiana.

Homer Folks was chosen secretary in Washington to succeed Hastings Hart, but soon after the Conference he was appointed Commissioner of Charities of the City of New York, which was just then enjoying a reform administration. He filled the position with marked success and made many salutary changes which have had lasting beneficial results. But the exacting duties of the office made it necessary for him to resign the Conference secretaryship. Joseph P. Byers was appointed by the executive committee, and continued as secretary until after the Conference of 1904, when I was elected. Mr. Byers was one of us from the Middle West, and one of the few men of that day who had been a social worker all his active life, beginning as clerk, and later secretary, of the State Board of Ohio, and having been superintendent of the Indiana Reformatory; warden of the famous Cherry Hill prison in Philadelphia and for many years highly successful as head of the House of Refuge on Randalls Island N. Y. Because I had known him long and intimately, I was glad to have him as a workfellow many years later when we began the committee on Provision for the Feeble-Minded. He and I had many points of sympathy besides our Conference experiences; having done similar state board work, and both of us having suffered under Winfield Durbin, in Indiana, "I indeed, justly but this man has done nothing amiss".

DETROIT FOR A SECOND TIME

Mr. Nicholson's Conference at Detroit was marked among other things by the presence, as preacher of the Conference sermon, of a dignitary of the Catholic church, Bishop Spalding of Peoria Ill., who gave us one of the great Conference discourses. That a Quaker president should deliberately choose a Catholic Bishop to preach for him, is a striking evidence of the spirit of

*"Quaker measure" is a familiar term in Indiana. It means "good measure pressed down, shaken together and running over". (See Luke VI. 38.) It is a colloquialism which throws an interesting side-light on what we Hoosiers think of our Quaker neighbors.

the Conference and the spirit of the man. Six years later a Catholic president showed the same fine spirit, when he had me choose a Baptist preacher for the same high duty.

ATLANTA IN 1903

The Conference at Atlanta in 1903 with Mr. Robert W. deForest of New York as president, was by far the best attended and most influential that had been held in the South, with the possible exception of the one in Baltimore, which hardly seems like a Southern city. This was the last one I was to attend as the superintendent of a state institution. My resignation had been presented; and if I had not been chairman of the committee on feeble-minded, my board of trustees would not have sent me. The name of the committee this year was "The Segregation of Defectives". The report had been considered by all the committee members and approved by all but one. That one, a woman member, who was a member of the state board of Missouri, questioned our treatment of the topic of sterilization. The majority report stressed segregation and the colony plan, and questioned; though, it did not condemn; not only the practicability but the ethics of sterilization. The dissenting member took the opposite view and I insisted she must present a minority report. When positive views are expressed in a report, if there is a minority who differ their views should be given as clearly as those of the majority. The Conference does not decide anything; but a strong report has the effect on many people of a decision unless it is questioned; and that not merely in the discussion which often escapes attention.

The Conference attracted many of the Southern leaders in social work. One of its most interesting sessions was devoted to child labor, which, because of the cotton industry, was a living, almost a burning, question in Georgia, South Carolina and some other states.

At the time there was a movement on foot in Georgia, for child-labor legislation which was at the debatable stage. A series of papers by Jane Addams, Edgar Gardner Murphy, Florence Kelley, Frederick L. Hoffman, Hon. Hoke Smith and Rev. C. B. Wilmer, contains some of the most convincing arguments on the subject which have ever been presented.

Gardner Murphy's address was particularly eloquent and convincing. His position as a leader in Southern affairs, was unquestioned, and he was one of the founders of the National Child Labor Society. Hoke Smith was also a leader. There can be no doubt that the debate had much to do in influencing public opinion in favor of the new laws.

A similar result can hardly be claimed in the case of the feeble-minded, although no doubt a little seed was sown. But it was seventeen years later before the legislature of Georgia created a small institution.

PORTRLAND, MAINE

When the Conference met in 1904 at Portland, Me., with my old friend, Jeffrey Brackett as president I was unable to attend. I had left the Indiana State School, and was adventuring at working for money.

Several notable things occurred there, the most notable for me being my election as secretary of the Conference, to which I was thenceforth to devote my energy for the next nine years.

Chapter Five

ADVENTURES AS SECRETARY OF THE CONFERENCE

SECOND SERIES, 1905-1907

When I left the school for feeble-minded, I thought I was bidding farewell to social work as a vocation. I had made no provision for old age, except that I had reared a family of children, whom I now esteem, though I hardly did so then, the best investment a man can make. I was offered what seemed a good business opportunity in a new industry, and decided to embrace it and thenceforth for my working life, to be a plain business man, and incidentally make a little money.

But twenty years of work for other people's interests, had made me less fit to work for my own than I had been in 1882, and my fine scheme was a disastrous failure.

In the early summer of 1904, when the world looked blacker than almost ever before, I had a letter from Edward T. Devine, offering the position of associate director of the N. Y. School of Philanthropy, which was to be developed from its original six-weeks summer work, to a more formidable affair. He suggested that the duty might be combined with, and the inadequate salary supplemented by, the position of secretary of the National Conference, as Joseph P. Byers, then secretary, was resigning, and he was sure the Conference would be glad to elect me.

The offer was tempting; but I felt that the man who had conducted the summer school for six years should be promoted and I told Devine so. He replied that what I suggested had been well considered and that the man I mentioned would not be chosen. The Conference was in session at Portland, Maine, and the day after Devine's second letter I was offered the secretaryship by wire. I gladly accepted the two positions and returned for the rest of my active life, to the profession to which I belonged.

The arrangement was that one-third of my time and energy was to be given to the Conference, and two-thirds to the school,

and the salaries were arranged accordingly. It might have seemed a formidable undertaking for a worn-out man of fifty-seven. But I knew the Conference thoroughly, having been a member for twenty-one years, and its secretary for four; and I had had some experience as instructor with the summer school. Then the lines of work were parallel; the period of greatest stress of Conference work would be during the school vacations; it seemed a possible and happy combination; and I began life anew; the world once more looked bright.

The retiring secretary was a faithful friend of long standing. The business affairs of the Conference were in good shape; the correspondence necessary for the next year's meeting, was well begun; the transfer of duties was easily made, and I began my work under favorable auspices.

The meeting for 1905 was to be in Portland, Ore., and Rev. S. G. Smith, of Minnesota, was president. He was a man of strong character and large experience in social work. He fully understood how to make a program and knew it was his duty; so I had no anxiety on that score.

During my experience as secretary, I had several varieties of presidents to work with; one kind knew his work and did it, only asking from me an occasional word of encouragement, since he needed little advice. Among these I count McCulloch in 1891, Smith in 1905, Devine in 1906 (though his absence for a month or two before the Conference met had to be provided for), Butler in 1907, and Folks in 1911. Another kind left as much as possible to the secretary, giving me a free hand and cheerfully assuming responsibility for all I did in his name. The perfect example of this second kind was Reed in 1892, who made me do it all, though at that time, my office, like his own, was unpaid. Mulry in 1908, was almost as good. He was a very satisfactory president, from the secretary's stand point. He had a good sense of responsibility and a generous and whole-souled frankness in asking for and acknowledging all the help I could give him. Judge Mack in 1912, occupied a median position; he had strong and clear opinions of his own; and though he called on me for a fair share of the work of preparation, he was distinctly the maker of the program; but our relations were very cordial.

It was a rare privilege to work with Jane Addams for the 1910 Conference. She was seriously ill during the spring of her Conference year, and I had the opportunity of relieving her of much of the detail which usually devolves on a president. But her clear brain, fine sense of values, and warm human personality made association with her, not only satisfactory, from the business side, but a delightful social experience. Working with Bicknell for 1909 was like going back to Indiana with a trusty comrade. But for the Messina earthquake, which took him to Italy on Red Cross business in the spring, my work for his Conference would have been confined strictly to the duties of a secretary; as it was, I had many things to do which usually fall to the lot of the president, even choosing the preacher for the Conference sermon, which is always the president's prerogative. But Bicknell's business promptness in answering letters, and his clear insight of every part of the work, made my duties easy.

Frank Tucker, the last president under whom I worked, was clear-headed and positive. Any one working with him is never in doubt of what is expected of him. The only point upon which we differed was that of economy. He several times reproached me for being niggardly in expenditures, which he thought proper and I grudged. On one occasion, he said, in good humored pique, "oh damn your economy," but our friendship, which was close when we began to work together, was closer at the end of the year.

With the single exception of Dr. Smith, my relations with my presidents were never marred by the slightest friction. With Dr. Smith a work-fellow needed tact, patience and courage, but with a reasonable amount of these qualities, I managed to get through the year without discord.

THE CONFERENCE IN PORTLAND, OREGON

After getting the correspondence in order, my first adventure in 1904, was to take advantage of the Christmas vacation of the School of Philanthropy, and cross the continent from New York to Portland, to make the preliminary arrangements for the Conference there. On my way, I had ten minutes with my family on the railroad platform at Fort Wayne, and a brief interview with Dr. Smith between trains at St. Paul. I ate my Christmas

dinner on the dinner with the one other passenger in the Pullman I was in. We fraternized over a sumptuous table d'hôte meal, and toasted "absent friends" in brandied figs, as there was no more appropriate drinkable to be had. My companion joined his family at Billings, Mont., on Christmas afternoon, and from thence I had the car to myself. A brakeman passing through said he saw I was using my private car.

The Portland people were responsive and hospitable. I renewed friendships of fifteen years before, and made some new ones. Stephen S. Wise was then Rabbi of the Jewish temple, and invited me to his pulpit for the regular Friday evening service. On Sunday morning, which was New Year's day, I spoke in the Presbyterian Church, the pastor declaring that the Conference was so important that he gladly yielded me his place, even on the special occasion of the first Sunday morning in the year. The weather was of the usual northwest coast winter variety. It rained all Saturday and Sunday morning, yet the big church was full. On my expressing surprise, the minister said "Oh, if we stayed at home in Portland because of rain, we should never go anywhere," which made me think of my native Lancashire, where not even a Sunday school picnic is deferred because of rainy weather.

We got a fairly good local committee going; but they did not understand the importance of publicity, and it was a far cry from New York to Portland; many local needs were neglected. When we went in July, I called on the editor of the Oregonian, the leading paper, with a request for liberal reports of the meetings. He asked how much space we usually had on such occasions. When I told him from one to two pages daily, he said that must have been in small cities; and I answered yes, rather small, such as Chicago, Denver, Indianapolis and New York. But he could not see that we had much news value and would not even print the daily program except at advertising rates which we had to pay.

This lack of publicity was one cause of poor attendance, public lethargy was another, but the chief cause was the competition of the Pacific Coast Exposition and the American Medical Association, both of which were in progress during our Conference.

There was one very notable new departure of the Conference at Portland, in the work of a committee on "Care of the Sick," with Nathan Bijur of New York for chairman. When we consider that sickness is by far the greatest immediate cause of distress leading to the need of relief, it seems strange that the National Conference of Charities had not earlier paid more attention to this most important branch of relief work. However, the committee on "Care of the Sick" at Portland made amends for long neglect in a luminous and complete presentation of the subject.

The great work of the Anti-Tuberculosis Society was at its beginning. This had been fostered by Edward T. Devine; it was one of his notable achievements in his specialty of the "midwifery of new social movements" to which I have already alluded. Another new departure in health, especially in New York City, was the Visiting Nursing Association. Mr. Bijur besides his own committee reports and papers, had two sub-committees; one on tuberculosis, with Devine as Chairman, and another on visiting nursing in the care of Miss Jane Elizabeth Hitchcock.

Devine's report was a masterly presentation of the needs of the tubercular, and of the progress that had been made in meeting them. He had secured some brilliant papers by medical men.

Miss Hitchcock's contribution to the literature of nursing was equally valid and comprehensive. Few groups of papers ever presented at one session by a Committee, have been so timely and valuable as those which the Conference owes to Mr. Bijur. It is contributions of this kind which make a file of Conference proceedings among the most valuable of the contents of a public or university library.

One other notable committee at the Portland Conference must be mentioned, that on "Neighborhood Improvement". This was headed by Miss Louise Montgomery of Buffalo, and was almost wholly directed toward the problems of Americanization. This aroused special interest among the dwellers on the Coast, in view of the Asiatic immigration, which some of them dread, and some of them (who want plenty of cheap labor) encourage. It is interesting in going to the various sections of our country, to notice the attitude of local residents toward the rest of us; when it comes to consideration of problems which they fancy are spe-

cial to them. No Southerner believes a Northern man can talk intelligently on the Negro problem. No Californian thinks an opinion on Chinese or Japanese labor, coming from East of the Rockies, is worth listening to. It's the old story of the shoe that pinches, or the ox that is gored.

The Conference renders a distinct service when it brings people from every section face to face, to frankly discuss problems that are felt as sectional, yet must be dealt with nationally. No matter how radical may be a man's opinion, he seldom expresses it, at such a gathering as the Conference, quite so radically as he feels about it; so speaking your mind not only eases tension by letting off steam, but actually leads to moderation of extreme views. The most radical reformer inclines a little towards conservatism when given the responsibility of administration; and it is much the same with discussion. To listen to an intelligent earnest-minded speaker, expressing with good temper and in moderate language, views which differ radically from your own, is the first step towards moderation, and that is the second step to harmonious co-operation.

There were many other of the papers and discussions of the Portland Conference of equal value and interest with the few I have mentioned; and the 1905 volume is one of the best of the long series. In reviewing it for my present purpose, sixteen years after it was issued, I am impressed anew with its timeliness and quality. The papers were much more than "reports"; they were vital human documents. There are few indeed of the many volumes on social work which are now keeping linotype men busy either so valuable or so interesting as is a respectable proportion of the Conference proceedings.

Dr. Smith was the only president during my experience who attempted to put across a change in the unwritten law. He ruled from the chair; after I had made the usual announcement of the choosing of the nominating committee by the delegates and instructed them when to meet; that the committee could not meet till it was organized (by himself). This committee at that time, was the stronghold of democracy in the Conference. It was appointed by the delegates by states, one member from each, and I had the Conference with me in standing by our long estab-

lished custom and declaring that it could not organize until it met, when it would choose its own chairman.

Dr. Smith had some views regarding the future of the Conference, and other things in the Middle West. He had long been a member of the Minnesota Board of State Charities, which was being supplanted by a Board of Control. He wanted the Conference to give some emphatic recognition of the Boards of Control, which he believed had not been fairly estimated hitherto, although, as he thought, they were coming to be the important state boards, and was particularly anxious to have a member of a Board of Control as first vice-president. His intentions were good and he succeeded in his endeavors, altho not in the way he first attempted, but some consequences were rather unfortunate.

The Conference had accepted an invitation to Philadelphia for the next meeting, and the delegates from that city made a very earnest request for a strong local man, in whom the citizens would have confidence, for first vice-president, and were much disappointed when their request was disregarded.

THE GUIDE AND THE INDEX

In the course of thirty-three years the Conference had accumulated a large stock of volumes of proceedings, many thousand in all. Some of these were bound in cloth, some in paper, and a great many were in sheets in the printer's warehouse. I had collected a file of the Proceedings of my own, and had long used them freely. When invited to speak on any subject with which the Conference has been concerned, I found the easiest and best way to prepare myself was to read a few addresses and discussions in the proceedings. When I went for my first interview with the Indiana Board of State Charities, I got ready for them by spending a few hours studying state boards in the proceedings of 1887.

My predecessors as secretary had given some attention to selling the back numbers, but they had never been able to devote time or effort to such work as I now could. At that time the present flood of social work literature had scarcely begun to rise, and the Conference proceedings were the best available source of information. I succeeded in turning many copies into money.

When preparing a speech, I had often used some paper which I knew was not the best in the proceedings on the subject, because of the difficulty of finding in the mass of poorly indexed volumes a better article which I knew was somewhere among them. I determined that a cumulative index would add immensely to the value of a file of proceedings, and incidentally would help the sales.

I decided to issue the index in parts in the Conference bulletin, which we were printing quarterly. My original plan was merely to cumulate the existing indexes which would have been a light task; but as soon as I began the work, I found my plan would not do. The indexes were simple and crude, they had only the titles of papers, and I wanted a topical arrangement. Then the first ten volumes had no indexes, and some of them not even a table of contents. So I set to work to make my cumulative index an original production. This filled the leisure hours of nearly two years and I burned a good deal of midnight oil in the process.

In my library I had a volume which a lady book-agent had cajoled me into buying. I had never used it, but it now gave me an idea worth its cost. It was called "Guide to Readings in the Encyclopedia Britannica" and consisted of references to articles in that work, which taken consecutively, made consistent treatises on various subjects. This suggested a "Guide to the Study of Charities and Correction" by means of the Conference Proceedings; which I thought would be a good addition to the index. I divided it into books and chapters. Every paper which had appeared from the beginning of the Conference, was briefly reviewed under appropriate headings and some thousands of references to the discussions were included. It was printed partly in 10 pt. and partly in 8 pt. type. The reviews in 10 pt. were those more valuable or more accessible because more recent. Anyone wanting to know the salient facts on any topic, who would read in the proceedings the articles reviewed in the larger type, would get a good working knowledge of the subject so far as the Conference had treated it; then to add detail and fulness he could read articles reviewed in the smaller type. The reviews varied from three lines of text to fourteen, and were explicit enough to enable a student to judge if he should read the article.

The Guide was later than the Index and applied to thirty-four volumes.

Five years later, I published a quinquennial appendix to the Index, bringing it down to the year 1911. When I resigned from the secretaryship, I offered to the executive committee, as a labor of love; a parting gift to the Conference; to make in my leisure hours, new editions of the guide and the index brought down to date, provided they would publish the two works. Luckily, for me, they did not see the value which I imagined there would be in the publications, and possibly they were right. Every year more and more social work literature was issuing from the press, and the value of the proceedings was becoming comparatively less.

To illustrate the difficulty of getting people to appreciate and even know of the good things you do for them, I want to tell of a member of the executive committee, who was one of the best members of the Conference, coming to me at the meeting in Philadelphia, a few months after the index had been circulated. He was preparing a memorial address on a deceased member. He asked in which volume of proceedings he could find the papers which the deceased member had presented. I told him he would find them all, listed under the man's name, in the cumulative index. He had never heard of the index, and denied that a copy had ever reached him, although he admitted he had received the bulletin regularly, in which it had appeared.

While making the index and guide was a big job, it gave me a familiarity with the proceedings that I suppose no other student has ever had, and the knowledge I gained was well worth its cost. It also helped me in my work as secretary, especially in program making and sometimes in my duty of expounding the unwritten law.

THE CONFERENCE IN PHILADELPHIA, 1906

Some of the leading members of the Conference had long desired to hold a meeting in the Quaker city. But the state board of charities of Pennsylvania had taken little active part with us after the earliest years, and no invitation had ever been stressed. Now the active people in organized charities were leading a campaign for better social work, and at Portland a

warm invitation was extended to the Conference to meet in Philadelphia, and was eagerly accepted.

In preparation for the Conference, the local committee planned a "get-together dinner" to which two hundred and forty representative citizens were invited. This was the first time such people had come together in that city, to consider "the charities". They had often met to honor some distinguished foreigner, or for purposes of art or music; and they met intermittently every few years to tinker their politics, which need frequent re-arrangement; on which occasions, they usually achieve some spasmodic reforms which barely last over the next election. But on charitable matters, although Philadelphians are liberal, often lavish, they had never been co-operative.

The executive committee met in Philadelphia the day of the dinner, and its members were among those who had to make speeches. I happened to hit the audience with a story of a cook in my employ at the school for feeble-minded who was much dissatisfied because I would not permit him to get up an elaborate seven-course dinner for board meeting day. He told me what he had done in a Philadelphia institution on similar occasions and said "the Philadelphians is the eatinest people they is". I did not realize, till after the laughter and applause which followed, that Philadelphia is proud of being "the gastronomic center of the Universe".

The result of the dinner was to bring the value and importance of the Conference home to the social workers of the city and still more to the benevolent people who support their work. It fairly set the local committee going. A round sum was subscribed for local expenses. The largest and best halls were rented. Free excursions, on a scale previously unheard of, were arranged for the delegates. The committee took the New York Conference of 1898, for its pattern, upon which to improve. They specialized in membership as had never been done before, and ere the Conference opened, had enrolled many hundreds of both sustaining and of ordinary members.

At the date for the Conference approached, we were confronted by a very difficult and delicate situation. The president, Edward T. Devine, was in San Francisco in charge of the enormous relief work of the Red Cross, which followed the earth-

quake and fire, and could not discharge his duty in the chair. The first vice-president, elected at Portland, had died, the second was sick. The third on the list was not thought to have quite the qualifications needed for this, in many respects the most important Conference ever held.

The situation in Philadelphia was a somewhat critical one. The idea of co-operation of charitable interests was new to the city, which, although it was of all American cities, the most richly provided with charitable societies and institutions, was sadly behind in charity organization. The earliest of the societies for organizing charity in the United States was in Philadelphia, but it was constructed on a faulty plan; and though its principles were excellent it had not lived up to them. The present secretary and board of directors were putting forth the most strenuous effort to make the society what it had started out to be, and should be; and were succeeding. It was with the hope of helping forward the re-constructive reforms at which they aimed; that they had invited the Conference to Philadelphia. They were ready for any exertion and any reasonable amount of expense to gain their object.

When the Philadelphia delegates had gone before the nominating committee at Portland, they had been well pleased when Devine was named for president. He was well known and popular in the city, having been at one time a professor in the University of Pennsylvania; they knew he would be able to handle any situation that might arise. Their request for a local vice-president had been refused and they were a little sore in consequence. Now a contingency had arisen such as they wanted to provide against. They made an emphatic protest against the third vice-president assuming the position to which he was entitled, and flatly declared that they would not stand for it.

The executive committee met in New York, and had a long and earnest debate. During the long life of the Conference, no such situation had been known. The office of vice-president had always been considered merely a complimentary one; at any rate his duties had been confined to an occasional occupation of the chair to relieve the president. We had not even a senate for him to preside over. In many organizations, being elected vice-president is a usual step to first place; but the Conference is nothing,

if not American, and no American ever votes for a vice-president with expectation of his being president later, though the instances of Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, Arthur and Roosevelt ought to have taught us better.

A deputation of the Philadelphia people waited on the executive committee, and reiterated their demand for a different presiding officer. I urged the committee to stand by the regular order, arguing that the gentleman whose ability was in question was amenable to suggestion; that some of our most experienced members knew him well and had great influence with him; that he would feel the dignity of the position and there was little danger of him compromising us. But after long and anxious debate, the committee determined that it was a case wherein the individual must suffer for the general good. They elected Mr. deForest, who had been president in 1903, president pro-^{em}, in Devine's absence.

The member who was so unfairly treated was very angry, but he attended the Conference and before the end seemed to have forgotten his pique. But he always insisted on believing that I had been the instigator of his ill treatment, and it was many years before he forgave me for an offense of which I was innocent.

Of course, it goes without saying that Mr. deForest made an admirable presiding officer, and in numbers, influence and every other way, the Conference was one of the best ever held, and its influence in the city was all that its promoters had hoped for. Many new departures in the social affairs of Philadelphia date from the National Conference of 1906.

Among the Philadelphia delegates was a lady who was devoted to equal suffrage. She was the wife of the chairman of the local committee, and was constant in attendance and in friendly social relations with the lady members. She came to me to know how she could get a chance to talk of equal suffrage as one of the important social reforms which would lead to many others. I told her it would be impossible to get the floor for a speech on that topic, but if she was shrewd enough to take advantage of some opening in one of the discussions, she might get a few moments suffrage talk interjected before she would be called down as out of order. I suggested that there would be an excellent oppor-

tunity for this when Judge Lindsey made his talk on juvenile courts, from the fact that the women voters of Denver had been for him, and really saved him to his work when the machine had attacked him fiercely.

The lady was equal to the occasion, and when Judge Lindsey sat down, asked him how much woman suffrage had contributed to his success, and whether it was not true that women voters could usually be counted on for the right attitude on social affairs in politics. Of course, Lindsey's answer was an emphatic yes, and turned the trick. Her question and his answer each got a round of applause.

If I were writing a history of the Conference, a long chapter would be devoted to the meeting in Philadelphia, which was one of the great seven days of social work. I may not use a whole chapter so, but I cannot refrain from reprinting here a few paragraphs from the presidential address. Devine was in San Francisco up to his ears in relief work, but Mr. deForest read his address which was the most challenging of the kind in Conference history:

"If I have rightly conceived the dominant idea of the modern philanthropy, it is embodied in a determination to seek out and to strike effectively at those organized forces of evil, at those particular causes of dependence and intolerable living conditions which are beyond the control of the individuals whom they injure and whom they too often destroy.

"No doubt there are individual as well as social causes of dependence. No doubt the poor, like the rich, have their faults and weaknesses, the consequences of which recoil upon themselves. * * * * But since such follies and sins are peculiar to no one class, may we not profitably turn to other evils from which the poor suffer grievously.

"I ask your attention to the common element in alcoholism as encouraged by the liquor trust; * * * * broken health and exhausted resources directly due to poisonous and fraudulent proprietary medicines; other injuries for which manufacturers and sellers of adulterated foods are responsible; the manufacture of sweated goods, with a sharing of the profit between dealer and consumer; the destruction of the health and the sacrifice of the lives of little children in cotton factories, coal mines, glass fac-

tories; the sending of messenger boys of tender years to brothels and hotels, to their grave moral injury; the abduction of innocent country girls at hotels and railway stations as a systematic industry; the payment of less than a living wage to girls in stores and factories, with sickening indifference to the methods by which the remainder is secured; * * * * the erection and management of dwellings which are unsanitary, and indecent, because they are gilt-edge investments. * * * *

"Are not these, and other forces of a like kind, responsible for the accession to the numbers of those who come to require our help? And is there not a common element in all these* * * * agencies of the evil one. The love of money is their common root. It is the financial interest threatened in any reform which makes reform difficult or impossible. * * * *

"I am constrained to charge my brethren in the charity organization movement itself, which stands pre-eminently for analysis of causes; with not having appreciated the importance of the environmental causes of distress, with having fixed their attention far too much upon personal weaknesses and accidents, and having too little sought for the evils which might yield to social treatment."

Devine challenged many other departments of social work, as he had his own, and some resentment was felt by some of those indicted. But on the whole, it was a wonderful key-note speech, and its high level of interest, thought and passion, was sustained throughout most of the proceedings.

THE CONFERENCE IN MINNEAPOLIS, 1907.

There were many notable features of the thirty-fourth session of the conference, perhaps the most striking being the degree to which consideration of the less immediate causes of pauperism and distress occupied the attention of the members.

Questions of relief were hardly mooted, and of the work of the Associated Charities, only that of the friendly visitors took up much time and space in the papers and debates. Equally noticeable was the large amount of time devoted to the welfare of children. On the official program three general and five special sessions were allotted to them; but an eloquent address by a United States Senator at the opening meeting was on "Child

Labor and the Constitution"; the committee on defectives and that on statistics had each one or more papers devoted to children's affairs; and the new committee on "Promotion of Health in Home, School and Factory" dealt chiefly with the second subject in its title.

The series of papers and discussions on the care of the insane forms an admirable summary of the subject, from the onset of the disease to the after-care of the recovered patient. The committee on defectives gave much of its time to the care of the deaf and the blind; topics which had not been treated for some years; the industrial aspect of work for the blind had specially complete and intelligent presentation. The committee on statistics surprised us with some addresses of great value. No paper in recent years has attracted so much attention as one on vagrancy, presented by the committee on state supervision.

The attendance was good, altho the number present from the Northwestern states, after very thoro advertising, was disappointing. It was made evident that the serious and difficult problems of pauperism and crime are yet hardly felt in that important section of the country.

Butler made his presidential address a cogent presentation of what he claimed to be, of many anti-social forces, those demanding most earnest thought, most immediate action—the facts about "Feeble-Mindedness as an Inheritance", for public control of the whole class. As an appendix to the address he offered a study of eight hundred and three families on record with the Board of State Charities of which he was secretary, who were or had been inmates of Indiana poor asylums. This was a valuable scientific document and has been frequently used by students and others.

As was to be expected with Butler as president and program-maker, there was less than usual of speculative theorizing and more than usual of practical application; but Raymond Robbins carried us all with him in an address on fair working conditions for labor which he called "The One Main Thing."

An interesting event was the rising on the Conference horizon of a bright particular star (if not rather a comet) from the baby State of Oklahoma. Some of our members had been called during the past two years to the new state to help guide their legisla-

tion. H. H. Hart had helped them write their children's law. Dr. Barrows had told them of the weaknesses and other defects of the criminal codes of older states. I had drafted a bill for a school for feeble-minded, and had spoken for it successfully before legislative committees and at a joint session of the House and Senate.

The state had chosen to have an elected commissioner of charities instead of a state board; Kate Barnard had won the election and her popularity and eloquence had greatly aided the success of her party at the polls.

The question of the constitution of the state was a burning one. The draft prepared was full of advanced social doctrine. Miss Barnard made an appeal to the Conference that it should, as she put it, help them to win a constitution whose details had followed National Conference teachings. Her eloquence and personality made a great impression, especially on the younger men, who all fell for her. But of course the Conference could not depart from its time honored custom so far as to endorse a state constitution.

An interesting event occurred which came near lending a special emphasis to the distaste of the Conference for electioneering. The nominating committee was considering a man for president, and the leaders were for him. His availability was partly personal but chiefly because he represented a large and influential body of people who had so far been luke-warm and whom it was highly desirable to attach more firmly to the body. An injudicious would-be supporter of the gentleman under consideration, tried to make a political deal in his behalf, and did it so clumsily that it became public before it was pulled off. Political deals are intrinsically bad; but when they are handled clumsily they become positively wicked. This excited so much feeling that only by very judicious management on the part of some wise and prudent members was it possible to avert what would have been a disaster. To have let it be known that the gentleman's name had been considered and then turned down, would have alienated those we wished to attract.

Only thrice during my nine years of office did I say one word which could influence the nominating committee as to a president. The first time it was when I was called on to testify to

the character and ability of a gentleman upon whom a majority of the committee had decided, but whose election was in danger from a minority report, threatened by a vicious and treacherous opponent. Once it failed when I suggested that choosing an institution man might help keep his fellows in line; another time, I did say, when by the merest accident I heard that a certain man was being considered, the one word "impossible". This time the candidate was defeated, partly because I said the word and partly because of his friends' electioneering, but chiefly because of his personal character.

In this case the defeated man became my bitter enemy and made a fierce attack on me with the executive committee, which though unpleasant did no harm and even a little good, since he combined with the personal attack an indictment of the policy into which I was leading the Conference. The result was that some of my plans, which so far had simply been permitted, were voted on and positively approved by the executive committee and so more easily carried out.

The man in question was one of the three or four personal enemies I have ever had so far as I know; although there may have been others whom I did not understand as such. I think I cannot be insulted nor slighted by accident; anyone who chooses to insult me must make it very plain; not because I am thick-skinned but because I don't look for slights nor insults and take every one's good will for granted unless they positively prove the contrary. Most slights and insults are accidental—were not intended as such by their imagined perpetrators. Then again, most serious enmities arise out of greed, and I have rarely possessed anything which another wished to take away from me.

Chapter Six

ADVENTURES AS SECRETARY

THIRD SERIES, 1908-1913

With the growth of the Conference and the coming of the various social organizations now meeting in connection with it, the duties of the secretary became more and more merely those of administrative detail. My appearance on the platform was chiefly to make announcements and give explanations. The *business* engrossed me so entirely that I had little time or energy for the *work*, and I like the work much better than the business. I could no longer act as chairman of a committee; and only twice since the Conference of 1908, have I been asked to read a paper. I had, however, the pleasant duty of preparing the way each year with the local committee; helping them to interest the people of the city in which we were to meet; and on Conference Sunday there was usually a pulpit or two for me to fill. Yet still I felt I had become a deacon instead of an apostle; I had left the ministry of the word to serve tables.

THE CONFERENCE AT RICHMOND

The fact that our president at Richmond was leader in the Catholic Charities of New York helped to bring the St. Vincent de Paul Society in closer union than it had been before. Its conference was held in Richmond immediately before the national one, with mutual benefit. I was called on to speak to the Vincentians, and at the close of my remarks Monsignor McMahon of New York said I understood their society as well as possible for a non-Catholic.

When it came to choosing the preacher of the Conference sermon Mr. Mulry delegated that duty to me. He said he did not wish to obtrude his religious faith by inviting a Catholic priest to preach. I asked the secretary of the local committee to suggest the name of a minister, not of Richmond, but one who

was known there, and who would be acceptable to the Southern people. He named Rev. M. Ashby Jones, then of Columbus, Ga., now of Atlanta. The sermon was of a high order. Mr. George Foster Peabody who heard it asked me to get the manuscript and print 20,000 copies and distribute them, sending him the bill. I made the friendship of Mr. Jones on that occasion and have kept it since.

The sessions were held in the old Episcopal church where we were shown the pews of such leaders of the Confederacy as Robert E. Lee, and Jefferson Davis. Some beautiful stained glass windows, among them memorials placed there by Mrs. John M. Glenn's grandfather, made the interior glorious. The rector of the church, Rev. Robert S. Forsythe, was constant in his hospitality and interest; attending every session and often opening the meeting with prayer. When it came to the Sunday night meeting, we had arranged to use one of the theatres, thinking it an intrusion to hold a session in the church on Sunday, but the rector was quite disturbed; he begged us not to desert him; promised to fill the chancel and every available place with chairs, to accommodate the large meeting we expected; and was so evidently sincere that he had his way.

The conference being in the South, the committee on public health paid special attention to problems of health among the negroes; and the committee on children to those of child-labor, especially in cotton mills. The committee on family welfare had some good papers and discussions on work among the mountain whites.

Among the papers presented by the committee on children was one by Dr. McKelway, the assistant secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, on the topic of "Child Labor and Citizenship". He ended his paper by a "declaration of dependence" which he made in the name of the children of America. It is so interesting that I quote it in full.

"In the name of the toiling children of America, the neglected children, the children sacrificed to greed, I presume to suggest a paper which I shall read in their behalf:

Declaration of dependence by the children of America in mines and factories and work shops assembled.

Whereas we, children of America, are declared to have been born free and equal, and

Whereas we are yet in bondage in this land of the free; are forced to toil the long day or night, with no control over the conditions of labor as to health or safety or hours or wages, and with no right to the rewards of our service, therefore be it

Resolved I, That childhood is endowed with certain inherent and inalienable rights, among which are the right to be children and not bread-winners; the right to play and to dream; the right to the sleep of childhood during the night season; the right to an education; that we may have equality of opportunity for developing all that there is in us of mind and heart.

Resolved II, That we declare ourselves to be helpless and dependent; that we are and of right ought to be dependent and that we hereby present the appeal of our helplessness that we may be protected in the enjoyment of the rights of childhood.

Resolved III, That we demand the restoration of our rights by the abolition of child labor in America."

In a paper on compulsory education, Prof. Hand of the University of South Carolina, had given some statistics on illiteracy; among them that North Carolina was at the bottom of the list, with the largest percentage of illiterates in the United States. His figures were eight years old and in the interval North Carolina had made strenuous efforts at education; the value of school property had been quadrupled and, during five years past, new schoolhouses had been built at the rate of one a day. A delegate from North Carolina, the secretary of the state board, was heart-broken to have her state so maligned and came to me in tears. She was a modest, timid woman, and did not know how to get before the Conference, to refute what she felt was a slander on her state. I undertook to do it for her, and getting the floor at the next session I told the audience of the facts and won the lasting gratitude of the lady.

A committee on "Press and Publicity" made its first report. This was quite new and of a different order from the usual Conference work. It was a sign of the way the Conference was becoming useful to its members, not only teaching them what to do, but also how to get the means of doing it. This committee produced a set of papers of great value to the executive officers

of charitable agencies. The chairman was H. Wirt Steele, who for several years had been employed by the Conference as publicity agent; and who had been very useful in the position; he reported regularly for three years during which time the papers covered the subject so well that it was dropped and has not been necessary again.

At its session shortly before the Conference met, the legislature of Virginia had enacted a law for a Board of State Charities, copying the Indiana law almost verbatim. The Board, just appointed by the Governor, was about to select for secretary a well known politician who had no knowledge of social work and little capacity for learning it. I met Gov. Swanson at a reception given the Conference at the executive mansion and when he heard that I had been the first secretary of the Indiana Board, he wanted to know all I could tell him.

He was soon convinced that the man they had chosen would not do and while the Conference was in session a suitable secretary was chosen, Rev. J. T. Mastin. He came at once to see me, and I introduced him to Amos Butler. Between us we got him started right and his administration has been conspicuously successful. Social work in Virginia, both public and private, has advanced greatly and is still advancing under his influence.

One of the pleasant incidents to me personally in being among the Richmond people was that they liked me all the better because I used to be an Englishman. I have often been among groups with whom my nativity was a liability; I was a good fellow in spite of it; at Richmond the liability turned into an asset.

CONFERENCE FINANCES

THE LOCAL CONTRIBUTION

During the years that the Conference had no membership fee, the question of finance was a troublesome one. As I showed in a previous chapter, the only support the Conference had at first was by selling its proceedings and the treasurer was always more or less worried. When a membership fee was established it was quite small and not nearly enough to defray our expenses. At each meeting we usually had invitations for the next one from several cities. One of the early conditions of acceptance was

that the local committee should defray local expenses, such as publicity and rental of halls and the salary of the official reporter. To these, at their choice, they added expenses of receptions and sometimes excursions. When we met at Omaha in 1887, the local fund was more than they were able to spend and when the accounts were adjusted a balance of \$700.00 remained; this was turned over to the Conference and thankfully accepted. This gave the idea of requiring a certain subscription from each local committee towards the publication of the proceedings which was always paid; usually very cheerfully. The sum first arrived at as proper was \$500.00 and it remained at that figure for a good many years. The local committees did not officially tell the executive committee how much the Conference cost them; but for some years it was supposed to be about \$3000.00 in each city. This was the amount collected in Indianapolis in 1891, and when the committee there met to close its accounts, the first check made was one for \$500.00 to the treasurer of the Conference. It was characteristic of the chairman of that committee, of which I was a member, that when we found we had incurred liabilities of \$270.00 over the subscribed sum and one of us suggested asking for subscriptions from some people who could well afford to give them, Mr. Hanna said "no, we will not ask anyone to pay for a dead horse" and promptly wrote his own check for the deficit.

In the course of four or five years after I became secretary in 1904, I was able to work up the local contribution towards publication to \$1500.00, and afterwards to \$2000.00. I justified the request for this money from the city to my own conscience (unless I had done so I could not have asked for it) not only because of the great social benefit which the Conference carried with it, but also as an actual good investment of the business people.

When the Conference brings two thousand people to a city for a week their actual hotel bills are on the average at least \$5.00 per day, or a total of \$70,000.00. Their other necessary expenses are certainly \$1.00 per day or \$14,000.00 more. Then many take advantage of the big city stores, possibly spending \$20,000.00 or \$30,000.00 in them; and often a physician or a dentist would be called on. To bring \$100,000.00 in actual addi-

tional cash receipts to the business and professional people of the city is surely worth the expenditure of ten per cent of the amount to secure it. But to the business men, the advertising which the city gets is of more value than the additional bank clearings. Of course this does not apply to New York, or Philadelphia, or Chicago. But in every city of third or fourth rank, there is a board of trade, or business men's club, one of whose purposes is to advertise the city. The Conference mails many thousand circulars and letters each of which carries the name of the city in which the meeting is to be held.

When we went to Minneapolis, the business men's club agreed to finance the local committee out of a fund it had for such purposes on condition that no other collection should be made. The day before we adjourned I called on the secretary to collect the contribution of \$1500.00; which was paid so cheerfully that I asked Mr. Guy if the club was satisfied with the expenditure. He declared that they felt fully repaid by what the Conference had done and the number of people it had brought to the city. These thoughts and facts made me feel that we were not beggars when we asked for the contribution, but that we gave the people full value for their money.

I suppose it would have been feasible, at any period subsequent to 1884, to secure contributions from benevolent, wealthy people which would have put the executive committee on Easy Street. But this would have been very repugnant to me and to many of our best members. I and they wanted to feel free of any obligation which might involve fear of the consequences of plain speaking. In inviting people to address us we could always say "speak what you believe, we have no limits except those of courtesy and fair parliamentary practice". So far as I know, there was never any feeling that we could not tell the truth as we saw it lest we might offend some interest or some one who was profiting by error.

We supported our work by a small membership fee which any social worker could pay without hurting himself and by a contribution from the people among whom we met, for which we gave full value. This seemed a strong, sane, democratic financial basis, and the fact that we never had quite enough money to do all we would like to do, was wholesome for us, it kept us from extravagance.

THE SECOND CONFERENCE AT BUFFALO

The thirty-sixth Conference, that of 1909, with Ernest Bicknell as president, met in Buffalo, in the same month of the year that had seen the gathering of the fifteenth, in 1888. The contrast between the two Conferences in membership, in interest, and in program, was an admirable expression of the evolution of charity and correction which had taken place in the twenty-one years between the two meetings.

In 1888, preventive philanthropy was just gaining recognition, but the problems of ameliorative relief were the urgent ones. In 1909, constructive effort in benevolence occupied the place which preventive work had barely attained at the former period; while the theory of prevention had grown in acceptance until it was a truism to say that poverty is a temporary condition, that it is mainly due to preventible causes, that science has shown us how it may be averted and that human benevolence has seized on the method and purposes to put it in practice.

In twenty-one years, the problem of the poor had passed over from an affair of the individual to one of the neighborhood. Questions like those of labor and its reward, city congestion, etc.; which once seemed proper only to the domain of Economics were now considered from the philanthropic side, if not exclusively, yet so largely that they belong there in the estimation of social workers. Questions of public health were recognized as belonging in the highest sense to preventive philanthropy. Educational reform which shall lead to industrial efficiency was claimed as a concern of constructive beneficence.

State supervision and administration still occupied the center of the stage, but the objects of supervision were multiplied in number and wonderfully varied in kind. Several wholly new methods of care for defectives and dependents had come into existence since 1888; while in the methods of dealing with delinquents, the changes amounted to a revolution.

Above all, it was being more and more recognized that securing justice rather than giving relief is the supreme task of philanthropy, that justice is the highest charity and that justice means the equalizing of opportunity in the spirit of human brotherhood. This last sentiment was emphasized strikingly in the Con-

ference sermon, which was preached by an eloquent and enlightened Jewish Rabbi, on the topic of "Charity versus Justice". As the president was in Italy during the Spring with the Red Cross relief work after the Messina earthquake, he had assigned to me the duty of choosing the Conference preacher; and it was a sincere pleasure to be able to invite Rabbi Stephen S. Wise to preach to us; all the more because I remembered how he had invited me to occupy his pulpit in Portland, Oregon, when I was preparing for the Conference in that city a few years earlier.

There was no new committee reporting for the first time at Buffalo, yet there were several striking new departures within old committee lines. On "Health and Sanitation" the inter-relations of public and private efforts were treated in a more practical way than ever before; several public officials participating. The topic of health which other than as concerned with hospitals, had been a new one to the Conference in 1905, had become, in four years, one of the leading ones.

Several forcible instances of the inter-relation between committees were shown. Noteworthy examples were given under "Immigration" as relating to public health, child care, delinquency, and prostitution. The connection between immigration and the spread of typhoid fever; the remarkable and surprising fact that the disease increases and decreases, *with* the prosperity of industry, instead of in the reverse degree as might be expected; was made clear in a paper coming from the Typhoid Fever Commission of Pittsburgh; and other papers showing other unexpected side results were all intensely interesting.

When the committee on nomination was busy the fact leaked out that they were contemplating the choice of Jane Addams for president. Much as I would have liked to have a share in giving her the honor, I had strictly conformed to a rule I had laid down for myself when I was made the paid officer of the Conference—that I would keep absolutely aloof from influencing elections. A prominent member begged me to break my rule on this one occasion. Although I had never announced my policy, he told me that he knew and approved it highly; but that this time something had to be done; that the choice of a woman for president would alienate two strong groups of people whom we had recently secured and who were valuable additions to the mem-

bership; that the nominating committee would listen to me as to no one else; that I must sacrifice my own preferences for the good of the Conference. He urged me to tell the chairman of the committee of the evils that would follow; of the danger, almost the certainty, that the choice of a woman president would wreck the Conference.

I did *not* tell the gentleman that I should be delighted to see a woman chosen; that without parading the fact, I had for years been steadily working for real democracy, for actual equality of sects and sexes; that I had gained one great step this year in the choice of a Jewish Rabbi for a Conference preacher; that we had had a Catholic president and I hoped to see not only a woman president but also a Jewish one before many years were over.

But I *did* tell him that I had seen the Conference wrecked many times, and each time it had come up smiling, more strong than ever; that I had seldom meddled and never would again with the work of the nominating committee; any more than I always had done by preparing for them a list of committees and officers for several years back, indicating the states from which each had come. The committee acted as my friend feared, but Miss Addams made an admirable president; nobody was alienated nobody even expressed displeasure. The Conference grew in membership and influence and the sessions over which the woman presided were some of the best ever held anywhere.

Meeting my fearful friend in New York a few weeks after the St. Louis Conference, I mentioned what a good one it had been and especially how nobody stayed away because of the woman president and he replied "I tell you, Johnson, they can't stay away, it's too interesting". Once more I refrained from saying, "I told you so," though I surely thought it.

THE SECOND CONFERENCE IN ST. LOUIS, 1910

As was the case in Buffalo, Detroit, Washington and New York, the Conference played a return engagement in St. Louis; so reminiscences were in order. I had begun my Conference experiences in that city twenty-six years before and first began to feel myself a social worker there; St. Louis was redolent of memories for me. Of those present in 1884, only a handful came in 1910; and of our hosts but one or two greeted us again. Most

of the old timers were dead and of those living few remained in social work.

The city had changed greatly. From being rather backward in social affairs, it was now well to the front in such things as juvenile courts, public baths, playgrounds, and some other of the newer developments. The old Provident Association, which in 1884 was a type of the decadent relief society, altho it kept its old name had been made over on modern principles of organization and practice. It was particularly pleasant to find a star graduate of my first class in the school of philanthropy, that of 1905; the first and best tho the smallest; acting as city commissioner of parks, playgrounds, and public baths.

The advance publicity had been very poorly done by the local committee; we had Wirt Steele as publicity agent and when he and I got to work among the reporters we found the reason. The man who had undertaken publicity for the local people was very unpopular with the newsmen. They called him a high-brow. They took heartily to Steele and myself; we were democratic enough in our habits for anybody; and we did get pretty good notices after the meetings began; although the Conference suffered from the previous neglect.

A notable new committee to report at St. Louis was that on Occupational Standards. This marked a new alignment of social forces. Its purpose was to disclose the degree to which industrial conditions complicate the problems of distress and delinquency; to show that much both of poverty and crime, is really a by-product of industry; to arrange and co-ordinate the "mute human testimony which whether it comes to us in the form of premature widowhood, or broken health, or inefficiency, or juvenile crime; whether we find it in a painter's poisoned blood, or a telephone girl's frazzled nerve cells, in the empty sleeve of a brakeman, or in the under-fed child of an under-paid man, has the stamp of the workshop about it".

The report made by Paul U. Kellogg as chairman, was the first of a series of three; the second, with a change of the committee's name to Standards of Living and Labor, with Florence Kelley as chairman, was made the next year at Boston. The third under the same name, by Owen Lovejoy at Cleveland, closed the series and presented a platform of standards on such subjects as a

living wage, safety and health, reasonable hours of labor, home life possibilities, child labor and other things.

The Conference could not be asked to adopt the inclusive and radical platform. It does not adopt platforms. But a special meeting at Cleveland, held on the side lines, adopted a series of resolutions of a noteworthy character. The three reports of 1910, 1911 and 1912 emphasized, as no others had done, the change of front which the Conference forces had effected during the fruitful years that were passing. It is no wonder that the old guard were bewildered by such new strategy and vainly attempted to bring the hosts back to the ground they seemed to be abandoning.

One special feature of this Conference was a very large exhibit in the basement of the Odeon, the great hall in which most of the meetings were held. This was the most elaborate thing of the kind we had ever had and I think has not been equalled since.

At St. Louis, the executive committee insisted on raising my salary from \$2500.00 to \$3000.00, although I warned them that I had sometimes had difficulty in paying it at the lower figure. A year later, on my request, the salary was reduced to its former amount. This action was quite forcibly opposed by several of the committee and was only adopted on my urgency. It was at a time when the financial stringency from which the Conference was never wholly free was a little worse than usual, owing to the fact that the Cleveland local committee had fallen down on its pledged support. I felt that the Conference was altogether too good a thing to be embarrassed by having to pay high salaries; that had I been financially able to do so, I would gladly have given my services free but as I could not do that I was wishful to take no more than a reasonable living from it; and being a man of simple tastes and frugal habits, \$2500.00 was a sufficient salary for me.

I believed then and do still that the other satisfactions which come to the faithful social worker are great enough to justify a man working at even some pecuniary sacrifice if necessary. I acted according to my convictions although it was hard to make the executive committee see my point and I had to submit to being considered a crank, (which alas! was, and is, only too true.)

INTERNATIONALISM AND THE CONFERENCE

For many years we had welcomed to the Conference many delegates from Canada and a few from Mexico, and in 1897 we had held the Conference in the chief city of our Northern neighbors. These facts suggested the idea of making the Conference in name as in fact international instead of national. A committee to consider this was appointed at the meeting in Buffalo, but the consensus of opinion was that we might as well leave well enough alone.

However, when the International Congress of Public Relief and Private Philanthropy, which held its sessions once every five years in Europe; was called to assemble in Copenhagen in September 1910, and we were invited to send delegates, our executive committee felt the invitation should be accepted. I was appointed to attend and granted the sum of \$300.00 for expenses.

This was, I need not say, a very great boon to me. I was at that time, so I thought, probably the only British immigrant not actually impoverished, who in forty years of American residence had never revisited the land of his birth. I had come to the Western world in 1869 so that more than a generation had passed since I had seen the old country. I took the opportunity of crossing the ocean to spend a few weeks with relatives in England; to visit my birthplace; to walk on the streets I used to pass on my way to school (and find how narrow they had become in fifty years); and to see the house I was born in.

The Congress was a very dignified body. Ex-President Loubet of France, was president. King Christian of Denmark with his personal and official family attended the opening session; the entertainments given us were lavish. A great dinner and reception in the Hotel de Ville, as the Danes call their city hall, was the most extravagant thing of the kind I have ever attended; champagne was much more plentiful than water on the table.

But as a Conference the affair was simply not in it with ours. Great preparations had been made. Every paper presented had been received three months ahead, and printed in French, which was the language of the Conference. The speakers were permitted to use their own tongue or French as they

chose. It was absurd to listen to a speaker reading a long paper while you held the text in full in your hands, but that was their plan.

The general tone of their social work reminded me of ours of forty years ago. They had scarcely begun to conceive of preventive philanthropy and constructive social work seemed half a century ahead of them.

I was honored as an American delegate by being made a vice-president; but that office is even more purely a complimentary one than it is in our National Conference; altho the compliment was emphasized by including a special seat on the platform; but all I had to do was to occupy the chair and look wise.

There was a speaker's stand which each must occupy in his turn. As is often the case with Conferences the program was overloaded and the speakers, except those reading papers, were called down at the end of a very brief period. Those who wished to join in a discussion sent their names to the president who assigned them five, ten or twenty minutes, as he thought proper, and then called them up, or not, as the discussion went on. There was a fiery Parisian with some good ideas on Mother's Pensions much like those we had eight or ten years earlier; but his idea of relief was as inadequate as, or worse than, ours used to be in the bad old niggardly days. I sent my name to speak in the debate which followed and was allotted twenty minutes, and then called down in ten, just as I was warming up.

Most of the proceedings were in French, and I was able to understand the formal speakers by following the copy. The extempore addresses I could also understand when they were in French, if a German, or an Englishman, or a Frenchman from the provinces, spoke. President Loubet, being from Bordeaux, was quite intelligible. But when a Parisian took the stand I could catch at the most about one word in ten. I was like Chaucer's Prioress, mine was "The French of Stratforde atte Bowe, for of the Frenche of Paris, I didde notte knowe".

One of the marked contrasts between the congress and our Conference was in the courtesy of the audience. At our National Conference, even when a tedious speaker is prosing along, an auditor who wishes to listen is secure from the distraction which comes of loud talking by his neighbors. But at the congress,

it was only the exceptionally dignified or forceful speaker who was not disturbed. This courtesy was specially noticeable among the supposed-to-be-polite Frenchmen, whose assigned seats were all together; their rudeness on several occasions made me furious.

We had five or six American delegates and we all sat together until I was made vice-president and had to move to a seat of honor. Among them was Miss Sadie American, who presented a paper on the "Jewish Society to aid Female Immigrants", which was interesting and valuable, especially at an international gathering. All thru her address the French delegates were talking and laughing, and at last one of them rose and asserted that her paper; which he certainly had neither heard nor read; was proper for the white slave congress, which was to meet in Milan in a few weeks, and not here. The president seemed to be of the same opinion and Miss American, who was not more than half thru, was given two minutes to close. They could not understand any effort for helping virtuous women, except in the way of charity to widows with children.

The very next day a Frenchwoman, representing the prison work of the Salvation Army, was allowed nearly a full hour to read a prosy paper which we all had in full in our hands. To her even the Frenchmen were polite, though I doubt they listened they did keep quiet.

Two men stood out at the congress head and shoulders above the rest for good sense and good feeling; Charles S. Loch, secretary of the London C. O. S., and Emil Munsterberg, head of Berlin's public relief. When either of them spoke everybody listened; and they both used intelligible French. I had met Munsterberg when he was studying charities in the United States and had attracted his attention by an article on mother's pensions vs. orphan's homes which he highly commended; he was strong for the pension system. Mr. Loch attended our National Conference in Grand Rapids, and had sent a paper to be read at Washington in '85. It was pleasant to renew acquaintance with them.

When it came time to decide on the next place of meeting, in 1915, I conceived the idea of getting them to come to the United states and showing them how a Conference ought to be run; so

I cabled Bicknell in Washington; asking him to get Pres. Taft's authority to invite the congress to meet in our Capital. I don't know whether Bicknell could not reach the president, or whether he did not approve; at any rate I got no answer and London was chosen for the congress of 1915.

A few months later I was appointed reporter for the United States on mental defectiveness; and instructed to have my report ready by October 1914, for the Congress meeting in June 1915. I got it ready; a careful statement of American institutions and laws; but the great war wiped out any chance for the congress of 1915 along with so much else; and it has not been resumed.

The Danish people were as good to us as they knew how to be, and I enjoyed my visit to their beautiful city. I hunted for "slums" in Copenhagen, and could not find them. But the more I saw of the European congress, the prouder I was of our American Conference.

In Denmark, I visited several of their poor-houses, in Copenhagen and other cities, which are on an admirable system.* At Rothskilde, the ancient capital, I saw an agricultural high school which filled me with envy for our farmer boys; and a co-operative marketing plant for eggs and pork, which helped to explain how it came that Denmark, from being almost the poorest country, per capita, in Europe; had in twenty-five years become the richest. This last made me wish our farmers could learn to co-operate.

I crossed the ocean eastward in a Scandinavian-American boat, which made the passage going north of the British Isles calling at Christiansand and Christiana, Norway, before docking at Copenhagen. Among the passengers was a very dear pupil of mine, Florence Lattimer, a member of the best beloved of all my classes in the New York school of philanthropy, that of 1905, the first to graduate; Jacob Riis and his wife were passengers, and several other social workers. It was an ideal voyage in congenial company. When I returned in the Baltic of the White Star Line, the contrast was painful, both as to the ship and the fellow passengers.

Coming home we arrived off Sandy Hook at night and

*See in "The Almshouse" published by the Russel Sage Foundation, pp. 193-197, an account of these institutions.

anchored in the Narrows. At day-break, I went on deck and saw Staten Island to the left, Brooklyn Heights on the right, and the Goddess in the distance and I felt a sensation of home-coming which was really intense. I had seen nothing that looked so good to me since we steamed out of the harbor ten weeks before.

I suppose some immigrants from Europe go back to stay; just as some people leave Indiana for New York, and are content. But though the world is my country I am first an American and a Hoosier at that. One of the good things that has come of my retirement is that I may make my home in my well-beloved adopted state.

IN BOSTON ONCE MORE, IN 1911

No city in the Union, perhaps none in the world has shown a finer spirit of social work than Boston. The first Conference that was held there, in 1881, had been a memorable occasion. The Conference was taking shape and many things were begun there. Now in 1911, after thirty years growth the Conference came again with ten times as many delegates and a program many times larger; with an almost infinitely wider horizon. If vigorous growth is the best evidence of healthy life that surely was demonstrated.

One notable new committee reporting was on "The Church in Charity". This was the topic at the Sunday night session and Rev. Samuel McChord Crothers was one of the speakers. He gave us a wonderful address in his inimitable style and I wanted it in full in the proceedings. Whether the address was in manuscript or not, I do not know, at any rate I had not secured it; it had been taken stenographically and the report was fairly accurate; but it had lost the charm and sparkle of its spoken form.

I sent a copy of the reporter's notes to Mr. Crothers, and begged him to revise them for publication; as he did not answer, I sent it a second time, and again he failed to reply. Despairing of his doing the work I took the notes and with my own vivid recollection of what he had said, I re-wrote it in as near an attempt at his style as I could command; putting in some things I remembered which the stenographer had not caught, and one good thing he had said on a previous occasion which was appro-

priate. Then I sent him a copy of my revision and told him if it was not satisfactory I could wait two weeks for his correction, but that if he did not answer within that time I should accept silence as consent and send it to the printer. Mr. Crothers promptly replied that my revision was quite satisfactory and I might print it under his name.

The position of editor brings many trials, but it has its compensations. On one occasion, when Judge Mack had spoken to two different audiences at the same Conference on similar topics, I took the two addresses and combined them, ironing out the seams as carefully as I could. I thought the Judge had not noticed what I had done until he jokingly told me that it was not such a very bad job tho the junctures were plain to him.

On another occasion I condensed a paper of 12,000 words to 6,000. The author had declared that condensation would spoil it but when I sent the revision to him for criticism he was generous enough to confess that he liked my revised version better than his own original. But many authors were not so complaisant and my editing aroused some complaints especially as the material for the volume increased in amount and had to be cut down seriously.

THE ASSOCIATED SOCIETIES

The possibility, or the necessity, of the growth of the National Conference from a meeting of individuals to a great congress of associations; was a gradual development in the organization; as in my mind. As it slowly dawned on me I began consciously to direct and foster it. I never paraded the idea not even to the executive committee. I tried to let the growth be simple and natural. I was afraid if I made what I was hoping for too evident some of the members would balk; and as a matter of fact I was by no means certain that many of them fully realized what was happening or sympathized with my ambitions. Naturally the question of limitation came up. When we advertised these co-operating associations in our programs; notwithstanding any disclaimer of responsibility, we were in effect endorsing them.

Some of the societies which came into line were of such importance and dignity that their presence strengthened the Conference itself, as well as increased its membership. This

was true of the Jewish Conference of Charities which was among the first to hold its biennial meetings regularly with us. The St. Vincent de Paul Society was another strong organization which first met with us in Richmond when Mr. Mulry, who was distinctly at the head of Catholic charities in New York; was president; and again in Boston; other societies soon saw the advantage of the associated plan.

I suggested to the executive committee that it pass a resolution that the privilege of our program be restricted to societies applying for it in plenty of time; and that it was to be granted each one by a formal vote each year. This was not a perfunctory requirement, altho there was only one occasion of the privilege being refused. This occurred at Boston. When the executive committee met with the local committee to make arrangements, an application came from the Florence Crittenden Society, to be put on the program. To this the Boston people demurred; altho most of the Florence Crittenden homes were well conducted, the one in Boston was in disfavor with some of the local social workers. Its management was far from what it should be, and the local people said it must not receive the endorsement of the National Conference. Accordingly the application was politely refused, and the reason why was given; with the utmost courtesy but equal firmness. This caused some resentment at first, but its final results were good. The society investigated its Boston branch; found that the criticisms were just and took measures to remedy the evils complained of.

Every year, more societies came with us. They brought us more members, and they added to the value of the Conference to the city which entertained us by not only bringing a larger number of people but keeping them for a longer time as the auxiliary societies met for two or three days before the Conference itself.

The widening of the scope of the Conference and the coming in of the various associations had one annoying effect. A few people who represented state boards felt, that, as people in their position had begun the Conference, it belonged to them. Under the new regime they were no longer the all important figures and they resented it. After trying on several occasions to stay the development they disliked they decided to cut loose and

start a new association of their own. This lasted for a few years but it attracted nobody but the small group who fostered it and I think has now ceased to exist. All the most influential men in state charities work remained loyal to the National Conference; and the defection of the few sore-heads was hardly noticed.

THE SECOND TIME IN CLEVELAND, 1912

The trend away from remedies and towards preventives; which had marked the progress of the Conference for forty years had great emphasis and some acceleration at Cleveland. This was marked in the president's address and in every committee's report, as was also the inevitable correlation of preventive agencies. Problems of labor, of disease, of education and even of taxation; were shown to be inextricably entangled with those of charity and correction. Anyone who came to the Conference with his little panacea for social ill tied up in a neat bundle, was confronted by a host of people who asked many questions which the panacea-maker had never thought of and could not answer. The social student of fifty years hence who shall wish to know what social workers and social reformers thought and talked about and were trying to do, in the early years of the twentieth century, may find almost complete instruction in the six hundred and forty-four pages of the proceedings of 1912.

No wonder some of the old members who conceived of the Conference as a place to meet and discuss the work of organized, legalized boards of charities and who had somewhat grudgingly admitted the charity organization societies with the many new problems they presented, were indignant and even bewildered. A few of these attempted between the sessions of 1912 and 1913 to radically reform the Conference by bringing it back to its first status.

A letter from Frank Sanborn, the father of the Conference, written to me in May, 1913, expresses the view of the more unselfish among the conservatives so well that I give a few paragraphs from it. After alluding to a personal attack made on me by a member whom I had offended by, as he thought, frustrating his ambition to be president and who when he attacked me had made the natural mistake of measuring me and my

motives by himself and his own; and disclaiming any sympathy with the gentleman in his personal grievance; he says:

"Our annual meetings have grown so large as to be unwieldy, and this by their inclusion of topics that could be better considered in an organization for the reconstruction of civilized society, a proper end, perhaps, but one for which the Conference of Charities was not created. Ours is a much humbler but still an important aim * * * * viz: the co-operation of public officials and private philanthropists in classifying and standardizing the administration of charities, private and public and the introduction of prison science * * * * in the management of prisons, etc. * * * * .

If now we could drop some of these twining plants of general philanthropy and paternalism that have clasped the trunk * * * * of our banian tree of charities and correction, we could probably reduce our expenses and the size of our volume; make our meetings more useful and address the public more effectively on fewer subjects than we now do with our universal appeals to the spirit of novelty and change."

Mr. Sanborn expressed the views of the conservatives who wanted to reform us backwards; but the opposite trend was too strong for them and him. I had much sympathy with him, in fact I agreed with him pretty well except in opinion. When a parent sees his offspring grow into an adult in whom the family traits have dwindled until the creature looks like a member of a different breed, the poor old father feels that Nature has defrauded him and resents the process of evolution. I confess to have suffered much the same feeling with regard to one or two favorite projects of my own which grew away from my intentions for them.

Like many another useful man, Mr. Sanborn builded better than he knew when he initiated the National Conference in 1874; or to change the metaphor, he had no idea "how great a matter a little fire kindleth".

President Mack in his address put it forcibly; he said "For some years, we have been passing beyond the age of mere preventive work. Eradication of evil is not enough. Constructive philanthropy demands that it be replaced by the positive good;" and he went on to show how this principle applied in field after

field of social work. He said "In the past few years, a voice never silent in the history of the world, has been growing deeper and louder, the voice of men calling unto men, not for alms, not for charity, but for justice; and this body, tho it remain a Conference of Charities and Correction, will more and more in the course of time become a national conference for the consideration of those measures which in dealings between individuals and between the individual and the state will accord to each man that justice which is his due. * * * * It demands that society in its organized capacity shall secure each individual in the full enjoyment of all those fundamental rights, without which no human soul can fulfil his God given destiny. As we advance in civilization they will increase in number and broaden in extent."

Judge Mack voiced the general sentiment of the Conference and those who wanted to emulate Canute had to give way, tho some of them made themselves quite disagreeable about it. Fortunately for the Conference, the matter was kept off the floor, and no one was much worried but myself. The reform which changed the name from "Conference of Charities and Correction" to "Conference of Social Work" had its origin in this disagreement between conservatives and progressives. When the outward and visible sign came it was evidence of an inward and spiritual reality which had long existed.

SEATTLE IN 1913, THE FORTIETH CONFERENCE

It really seemed at Seattle that we had reached the culmination of the long steady advance; from relief to social reconstruction; as the object of the Conference. The president's address was on "Social Justice". One committee after another followed his lead. Organizations that once seemed remote from philanthropic effort in their scope, were represented as participants; most notably the commercial organizations; the boards of trade; chambers of commerce, and their congeners; whose social work was set forth by a committee on "The Relation of Commercial Organizations to Social Welfare," which offered papers by members of chambers of commerce, development boards and similar. The topic of "The Church and Social Work" was explained in a way that showed something radically different from the ideas of

the old church aid societies; the committee on "Standards of Living and Labor" discussed wages and work conditions as affected by legislation; and one member of it presented "Industrial Diseases" as the facts had never been brought together before. The committee on "Health and Sanitation" had developed into "Health and Productive Power" and stressed the co-ordination of official and private activities along with that social book-keeping we call "Vital Statistics". The committee on "Families and Neighborhoods" discussed not relief of the poor but social surveys and working programs for city development. Mr. Sanborn might well have said, as he did after the Cleveland meeting in 1912, that the Conference was becoming "an organization for the reconstruction of civilized society".

When I edited the volume I began to wonder whether we had not gone to a new extreme; whether we were not in danger of forgetting that not *all* of the world's woes are due to social conditions; but that some of them have intrinsic and subjective causes; that *some* poverty is due to the individual faults of the sufferers.

The president declared that the closing session at Cleveland the year before, had marked the end of the second era of thought and discussion in Conference history—the era of prevention; the first having been the era of relief; and that the third era that of construction; had now begun. He reminded us that the problems of life which the Conference of 1912 had been discussing became the issues in the most significant presidential campaign in half a century; that many of the Conference leaders had gone into political action to make their social beliefs effective; some of them aiding to give a new objective to a party whose course had long been erratic; some clinging to the wreck of the once dominant political power, believing its machinery could be made effective to bring about social and economic reforms; some assisting at the birth of a new party brought into life with a fervor like that of a new religion. And then he told us that not by machinery, political or social; not by enacting laws, no matter how wholesome; can social justice be secured. Wise laws, better governmental methods, indeed, we must have, but regeneration must come from within. Social justice demands a sense of social stewardship on the part of those of larger knowledge and power;

demands that workers of every class * * * * shall be honest, sincere and faithful. To cry for social justice is easy, to attain it, a long and wearisome task. It seems definite; but it is only to be reached by the individual doing the thousand and one common-place things that make up the daily routine of life according to ideas of unselfish fairness and ideals of service. And some who had begun to nurse the fond belief that the world was to be saved by majority votes for better laws; or by the energy of an inspired minority overcoming the inertia of a lethargic mass; were brought back to the salutary truth that salvation comes to us one by one; that the world cannot be saved wholesale.

Before we went to Seattle, I had notified the executive committee that I contemplated other work and had asked them to appoint a new secretary before the conference should meet allowing me to act as emeritus and to transfer the burden to new shoulders without friction. But my resignation was given to take effect at their convenience and they decided I must carry thru the 1913 meeting. The chairman of the nominating committee at Seattle begged me to re-consider and did his best to make me change my mind and only desisted when he saw that I was not so much leaving the Conference as undertaking a new and attractive work.

I had held the position of secretary for nine years; or thirteen, if I counted my first four years as a volunteer worker; and that is, for me, a long, long time on one job no matter how good a one. Then I was getting old, in years at least, and I had long determined to resign before any one should even hint that it was time for a younger man in my place.

I had seen the attendance grow from two hundred and fifty to twenty-five hundred; the paid membership from none to thirty-five hundred. Simultaneously with the evolution of the "*charity agent*" of 1880, into the "*social worker*" of 1910; and by the action of similar causes; the Conference had evolved from the narrow scope of "Charities and Correction" to the wide one of "Social Work".* The tiny seed which I had helped Mr. Fairchild to plant in 1884 had sprouted and grown into a big tree

*The new name came a few years later, but the thing had come to be, long before the name was changed.

in whose branches much familiar domestic poultry and some stranger fowls were coming to roost.

I had won over an increasing number of social organizations to hold their meeting with and practically to recognize the hegemony of the National Conference. While it had not taken the name it had really become that "Congress of Conferences" whose possibility I had dimly glimpsed in 1892. The Conference had arrived at the place; or nearly at the place; of which I had dreamed for it and it seemed to have envisaged its splendidly enlarged task.

I was beginning to wonder what was to be the next forward movement. An incorrigible adventurer, I could not be content merely to stand still and consolidate what we had achieved. I come of a restless breed that is never satisfied to leave well enough alone. The urge to progress; or perhaps I ought to say to change; at any rate, to a hazard of new fortune; was as strong in me as ever but I lacked a vision. I was in danger of the fate of the radical who, having won the battles of his youth, in his age turns conservative of the fruits of his early victories.

My work as secretary had gradually come to be almost wholly concerned with the mechanism of the Conference. For myself above all things I dreaded stagnant officialism. To cease constructive effort and succumb to routine performance of official duty meant to change my whole moral being; it meant to be old and settled; to have my spiritual arteries harden. To work out a lot of executive detail; to create a firm financial basis with which to replace the more exciting shaky one we had been on so long; and incidentally have a good easy time and earn a larger salary—had little attraction for me. Detail of financial transactions always repelled me; I had been compelled to do much of it but I hated it; there were plenty of men who could do that better than I and who perhaps even liked that sort of thing.

Then some purely personal considerations came in. I had lost my dear wife and my children were scattered over the land. I was alone in the lovely little home-nest which my lover and I, with painful economy and self-denial, had built for our green old age together. I needed something vital and adventurous to keep me from brooding, to take me out of myself.

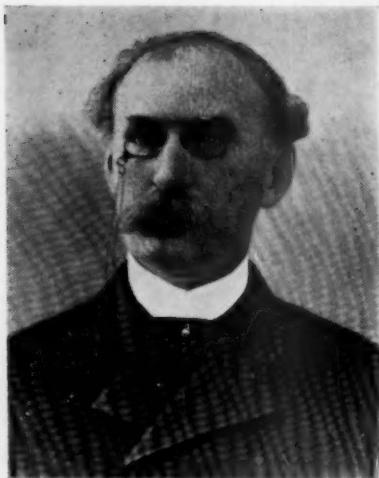
I was offered something new; something that had not been done; a young man's job; a chance for work of the kind I loved the best and was best fit for; active propaganda of a cause in which I believed enthusiastically; one of the forward movements most needing promotion in the nation; and in one department of which I had been successful before I took the Conference secretaryship.

I was assured by those who wanted me that circumstances had conspired to make me the one man available who was best fitted for the task. It meant to travel far and wide over the land; to meet thousands of people; in hundreds of audiences; in forty-eight states; with no anxiety about finances; no executive details to worry about; nothing to do but to convert the people of the United States to my way of thinking about the treatment of the feeble-minded; and then get them to put it into operation. A positive, objective piece of work, which, just as fast and as far as it was successful would have results that could be seen and measured.

All these things together—the sense of achievement; the doubt about the next step; my lonesomeness at home; the attraction of a big, hard job that I thoroughly believed in; were too much to resist. Once more I turned over a new page in the great Book of Life.

When the parting came and I said farewell to the National Conference as its secretary, it came as a wrench. I loved the Conference and every one of its members; I felt they loved and trusted me. But I had given my word and could not take it back even had I desired to do so; and I went on to a new adventure in social welfare more strange and exciting than any which had come to me before.





ROBERT TREAT PAYNE
NEW HAVEN - 1895



A. O. WRIGHT
GRAND RAPIDS - 1896



ALEXANDER JOHNSON
TORONTO - 1897



WILLIAM R. STEWART
NEW YORK - 1898



CHARLES R. HENDERSON
CINCINNATI - 1899



C. E. FAULKNER
TOPEKA - 1900



JOHN M. GLENN
WASHINGTON - 1901



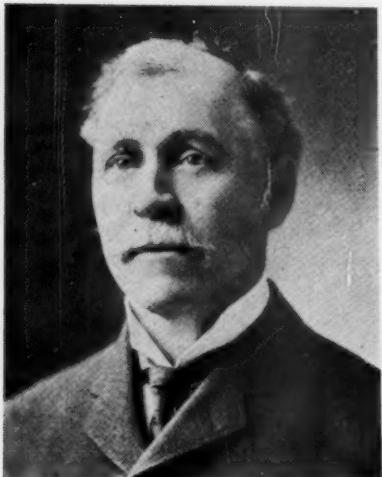
TIMOTHY NICHOLSON
DETROIT - 1902



ROBERT W. DEFOREST
ATLANTA - 1903



JEFFREY R. BRACKETT
PORTLAND, MAINE - 1904



SAMUEL G. SMITH
PORTLAND, OREGON - 1905



EDWARD T. DEVINE
PHILADELPHIA - 1906



AMOS W. BUTLER
MINNEAPOLIS - 1907



THOMAS M. MULRY
RICHMOND - 1908



ERNEST P. BICKNELL
BUFFALO - 1909



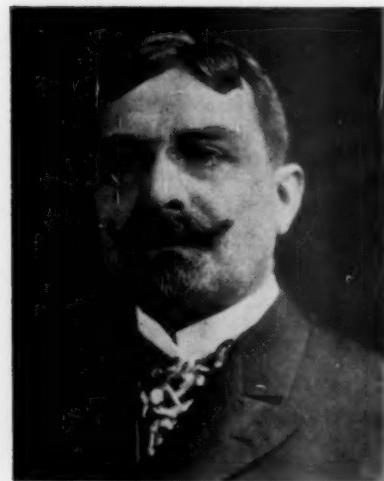
JANE ADDAMS
ST. LOUIS - 1910



HOMER FOLKS
BOSTON - 1911 WASHINGTON - 1923



JULIAN W. MACK
CLEVELAND - 1912



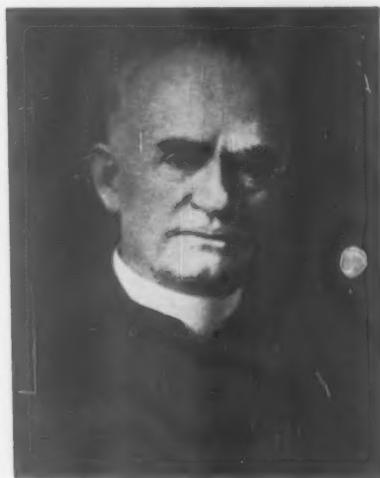
FRANK TUCKER
SEATTLE - 1913



GRAHAM TAYLOR
MEMPHIS - 1914



MARY WILLCOX GLENN
BALTIMORE - 1915



FRANCIS H. GAVISK
INDIANAPOLIS - 1916



FREDERIC ALMY
PITTSBURGH - 1917



ROBERT A. WOODS
KANSAS CITY, MO. - 1918



JULIA C. LATHROP
ATLANTIC CITY - 1919



OWEN R. LOVEJOY
NEW ORLEANS - 1920



ALLEN T. BURNS
MILWAUKEE - 1921



ROBERT W. KELSO
PROVIDENCE - 1922



GRACE ABBOTT
TORONTO - 1924



WILLIAM J. NORTON
DENVER - 1925



GERTRUDE VAILE
CLEVELAND - 1926



JOHN A. LAPP
DES MOINES - 1927

SOME PAST PRESIDENTS

National Conference of Charities and Correction
(Now National Conference of Social Work)



William R. Stewart, 1898

Robert Treat Paine, 1895

H. H. Hart, 1893

Charles R. Henderson, 1899

Alexander Johnson, 1897

Lucius C. Storrs, 1894

A. O. Wright, 1896

Philip C. Garrett, 1885

F. B. Sanborn, 1881

R. Brinkerhoff, 1880 Wm. P. Letchworth, 1884

Charles S. Hoyt, 1888

From an 1898 picture which for many years, up to the time of his death, hung in the office of the late Dr. H. H. Hart. Presented with the compliments of the Russell Sage Foundation.